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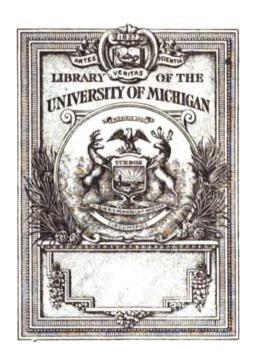
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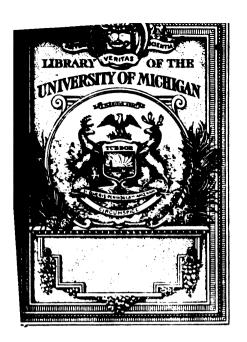




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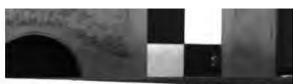
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THE

ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES

ON THE CROWN.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORATION OF ASSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

ΒY

MARTIN L. D'OOGE, Ph. D., LL D.,
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

"Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?"

CIC. de Opt. Gen. Orat.

TENTH EDITION.

CHICAGO: S. C. GRIGGS AND COMPANY. 1892.



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TO

JAMES R. BOISE, PH.D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,

THIS EDITION OF DEMOSTHENES DE CORONA IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

AS THE FRUIT OF STUDIES FIRST INSPIRED BY HIS ADMIRABLE

INSTRUCTION, AND AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR

HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN THE CAUSE

OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.



PREFACE.

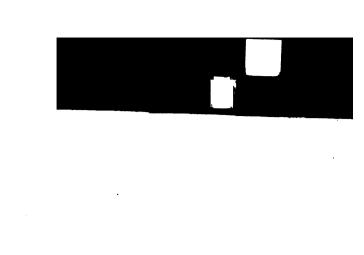
THE aim of the present edition of the De Corona is threefold: First, to present in the most concise form possible the latest results of study and criticism upon this masterpiece of Athenian oratory, especially as found in the best approved editions of the German scholars. Of all these editions Westermann's and Voemel's have been most freely consulted and used, particularly in points of historical and textual criticism. The text is that of Baiter and Sauppe's Oratores Attici, which follows most closely the reading of Σ , the oldest and best of the manuscripts. A few departures from this text are noticed as they occur.

A second aim of this edition is to lead the student to study the oration as a finished rhetorical and literary production. No encouragement is given to such as would make it mainly a vehicle for teaching grammar. The grammatical notes are, therefore, few, referring in the main only to the nature of conditional and to the structure of relative sentences. On the other hand, frequent attention is called to the rhetorical order of words, the emphasis of position, the use of metaphors, the rhythm of diction, and

kindred points in rhetoric. The opportunity for using illustrative material is exceedingly limited in an ordinary text-book; but the editor hopes that the few specimens of illustration referred to in the Notes may stimulate a more general comparison of Demosthenes with other orators, both ancient and modern.

A third aim, quite akin to the second, is to enable the student to appreciate the oration as a skilful plea and a masterpiece of argumentation. To realize this aim it is essential that he have some acquaintance with the rival oration of Æschines. But in most of our colleges this oration is not read; and the student reads a speech that was made as a rejoinder to one of which he has but the slightest, if any, knowledge. To meet this difficulty, in part at least, extracts from the oration of Æschines are appended at the foot of the text to illustrate those points which Demosthenes makes directly in reply to his opponent. editor has found, upon repeated trial, that such a comparison, almost point for point, of the rival orations, gives new interest and value to the study of the De Corona. not been thought best to make any comments upon the Æschines, as it would be difficult to fix any limit here. Generally it will be found sufficient for the illustration of the text of Demosthenes, that the pupil simply read these extracts. To supplement them, and to enable the student to follow and compare the chain of argument of each orator throughout its entire length, a brief abstract of the speech of Æschines has been added in an Appendix. The course

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mosthenes as a citizen and politician. Accordingly, Ctesiphon proposes, in 337 B. c., a decree that the state should honor Demosthenes with a golden crown, not only for these benefactions, "but also especially because he constantly says and does what is for the best interest of the people" (cf. Æsch. § 49); furthermore, that the herald should proclaim this crown in the theatre before the assembled Greeks, at the time of the great Dionysia.

The Macedonian faction saw in this proposal only a stroke of policy on the side of the Patriotic party, which party interests bade them thwart at all costs. When, therefore, the Senate brought this proposal, which appears to have passed this body without serious opposition, for confirmation before the Assembly, Æschines entered protest, and declared his purpose, under oath (cf. note, § 103, below), to bring a Complaint for Illegality ($\gamma \rho a \phi \dot{\eta} \pi a \rho a \nu \acute{\sigma} \mu \omega \nu$) against the author of the proposal. The immediate sequence of this declaration was the suspension of the bill until this question should be decided. The complaint, according to Æschines, § 219, was formally brought prior to the death of Philip, which occurred in July, 336.

In the bill of indictment Æschines attacks the legality of the proposal (now a $\pi\rho\sigma\beta\sigma\dot{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\nu\mu a$) at two points: (1) that the statement contained therein, that Demosthenes constantly aims in his words and deeds at the best interests of the state, is false, and to insert a false statement in the public documents is forbidden by law (cf. Æsch. § 50); (2) that the proposed crowning was a violation of the existing laws in two respects, inasmuch as Demosthenes had not yet given account of the offices for which it was alleged he had deserved so well, and again in that the proclamation was to be made in the theatre at the great Dionysia.

It is plain that Ctesiphon is not the man against whom such a formidable attack must needs be directed. The real antagonist whom Æschines wishes to encounter is Demosthenes; the man who for so many years had defiantly opposed him, had

crossed and thwarted all his purposes, had compelled him to enter into a formal defence against a charge of treachery and misconduct in an embassy to Philip, had all along defended the common fatherland against the encroachments and schemes of Macedon; and who, even when the unavoidable calamity had come, and Athens, in common with the other Greek states, had fallen under the Macedonian sway, had with unwearied strength and unfailing courage devoted himself wholly to the promotion of the welfare of the state. Now, when the influence of the Patriotic party was so greatly crippled by the disastrous result of the late struggle for independence, now was the favorable moment for crushing the hated rival and for annihilating his politi-Such was the spirit in which Æschines undercal existence. took this prosecution. His oration against'Ctesiphon is, in point of rhetorical finish, one of the masterpieces of ancient oratory, but in moral tone a detestable abortion, the fruit of blind and unbridled passion. In full measure he pours upon his opponent the accumulated and distilled poison of his party hatred; every means is legitimate to assuage his thirst for revenge; not one of the measures of Demosthenes - and he passes them all in review - finds mercy in his sight. Demosthenes, he charges, has crouched before Philip; has received bribes from every quarter; the unfortunate peace of Philocrates is of his doing; to him the unhappy Phocians and Thebans owe their ruin; in short, all the calamities that have befallen Greece lie at his door, - a caricature which, in its exaggeration, reproves and corrects itself. Thus challenged, Demosthenes cannot have hesitated to enter upon the contest. For, aside from the fact that he was the natural defender of Ctesiphon, and also that even under much less provocation it was not in the nature of an Athenian to let personal injuries go unresented, nothing could have seemed to him more desirable than this opportunity to vindicate publicly his entire political career. Indeed, to destroy the fabric of lies woven by Æschines, there was no need of such powerful elo-



INTRODUCTION.

quence as Demosthenes possessed; there was, however, need of a character as pure and of as great moral dignity as was his to do this with certainty, with confidence in the good cause he espoused, and with success in the face of a credulous, fickle, and excitable populace.

To be sure, his oration also, perfect as it is in its structure, has its shadows. Such are the personal assaults upon Æschines, comments upon which are to be found in §§ 129, 258 ff. And here we may not pass by unnoticed the fact that Demosthenes does not always candidly and simply limit himself to the bare statement of facts, especially is this the case when he wishes to expose the weak points of his antagonist's policy or to conceal those of his own; but, on the contrary, occasionally he gives to his representation a plausible and sophistical coloring. In this, however, he differs in no wise from all his contemporaries; and, at all events, these sophisms, unjustifiable though they are when taken by themselves, employed in a good cause are not able to weaken at all the impression of truthfulness which the oration produces as a whole.

Unquestionably the weakest part of the defence lay in the answer to the technical and legal points that formed the basis of the indictment. Æschines was too wary a man to enter upon this contest without feeling sure of his ground in at least one respect. The peril of Demosthenes was really this; that his opponent would argue solely the legal question in the case, and, arguing this successfully, would seriously implicate his political career and ruin his public reputation and influence. Had Æschines limited himself to the illegality of this proposal on the score of Demosthenes's accountability (cf. §§ 112, 119, and notes), there is every reason to believe that Ctesiphon would have been condemned, and Demosthenes would have remained uncrowned. But this did not satisfy the hatred of Æschines. Blinded by his passion for revenge, he weakened the force of his legal argument not only in connecting with it a second

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technical question of exceedingly doubtful nature (that of the place of Proclamation), but also in concentrating the strength of his attack upon an examination of the public career of his opponent, in order to prove how unworthy he is in every point of view of the proposed distinction. Thus the legal question falls at once into the background; it is no longer Ctesiphon, but Demosthenes, who is on trial. And Demosthenes does not fail to avail himself of the advantage that is thus offered him; but, placing the legal points in the middle of his speech, to borrow the expression of the old critics, as a good general arranges his weakest troops in the centre of his line of battle, he devotes nearly all his efforts to the refutation of the personal reproaches and charges that were brought against himself.

The trial of this suit did not come off at once, but, according to various authorities (cf. Æsch. § 254; Plut. Dem., § 24; Cic. De opt. gen. orat., § 7), was postponed until the latter part of the summer of 330 B. c., a period of at least six years after the indictment was first brought. What occasioned this unparalleled delay is wholly unknown; neither orator makes the slightest allusion to it. Had there been on either side any artful design in this postponement, the opposite party would doubtless have mentioned it in its own favor. The time for renewing the complaint and bringing it to trial was doubtless well chosen: for Alexander's recent victories in the East, and the destruction of the Peloponnesian league by Antipater, the Macedonian general, must have newly elated the partisans of Macedon at Athens, and given Æschines and his associates fresh hopes of success in their attack upon Demosthenes.

The fame of the trial and the reputation of the rival orators attracted strangers from all parts of the Hellenic world (cf. note on § 196). Æschines, being the prosecutor, spoke first. If the usual custom was followed, Ctesiphon, as the defendant, made the first reply. What this was is unknown; it was probably nothing more than a formal denial of the charge.



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The case was closed with the speech of Demosthenes on the defence.

That we possess these orations in the exact form in which they were delivered, no one supposes. But to point out the changes that were introduced in their revision is largely a matter of Some of them may at least be inferred in comconjecture. paring the two orations; especially is this true of the speech Demosthenes, on the one hand, alludes to topics which his opponent has just treated (cf. §§ 95, 238), but which are not found in the oration of Æschines; while, again, the speech of Æschines contains quite a number of points for a reply to which we search Demosthenes in vain. It must not, of course, be expected that Demosthenes would discuss all the statements of his rival, point for point; a few charges in the great number may have escaped his notice, many deserved no attention, and the right to pass by such as were of minor importance was doubtless exercised. But that he should have left unanswered entire portions of the speech of Æschines, as, for example, that in which the latter depicts the last of the four periods into which he divides his rival's public career (cf. Abstract in Appendix), and have passed by in silence those scornful insinuations of Æschines in treating this period, not even noticing them so much as to say that their consideration was wholly irrelevant to the case, — this exceeds all probability.

These considerations lead to the suspicion that Æschines subsequently rewrote his speech, omitting in the revised edition what best suited his purpose (cf. note, § 95), and adding to it parts which in their full extent can no longer be definitely distinguished. This suspicion is fully confirmed in the case of two passages. One of the most common artifices of the ancient orators was the use of what is called $i\pi \sigma \phi o \rho a$ or subjectio, by which the arguments or illustrations of an opponent are anticipated either as a matter of conjecture or of report, and the attack or defence is thereby made more difficult. Æschines

makes frequent use of this rhetorical artifice; but in two places, \$\ 189, 225, the apparent artifice is really plagiarism. Upon comparing these two passages with § 319 and § 243 of Demosthenes (in which connection they are cited), we find the closest Now, all due allowance being made for what each orator may have heard in advance of the other's line of argument, through the discussions of their adherents and the reports of talebearers, to suppose that in such unessential and minute respects as the form of an illustration one orator should exactly anticipate the other, is most improbable, not to say impossible. It admits, therefore, of hardly a doubt that Æschines copied both the similes in the passages referred to from the speech of his rival after its publication. Demosthenes, it is believed, published his oration, if not word for word, certainly in substance, as he spoke it, soon after the trial was over; Æschines, as it appears, published his somewhat later, taking advantage of the earlier publication of his opponent's speech. Could Demosthenes, when he published his own, have had before him the speech of Æschines in its revised form, we may suppose that his also would in some points have read differently.

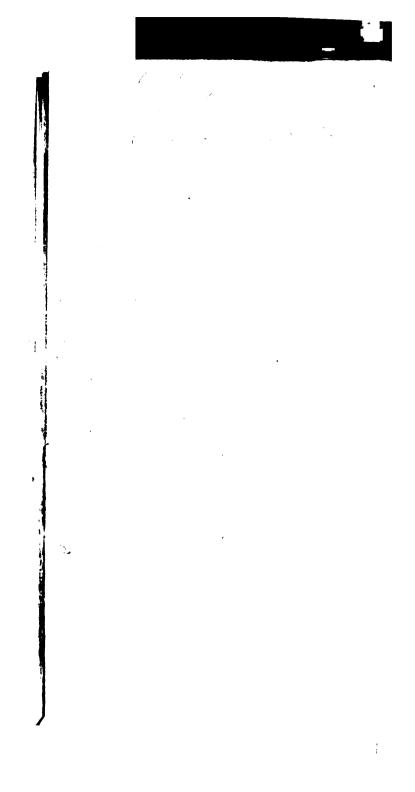
The final issue of the trial makes some atonement for the malice to which it owes its origin. Æschines did not receive a fifth part of the votes, and was accordingly condemned to pay the fine established by law of one thousand drachmas, and to suffer inability ever again to institute a similar suit. His influence and reputation were destroyed; and unable to endure the sight of the hated victor, he went to Rhodes into voluntary exile. It is related that here he read his speech against Ctesiphon; and when his Rhodian audience expressed surprise that such a masterly oration should not have gained him the day, he gracefully remarked, "You would cease to wonder, if you had heard Demosthenes."



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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.

ΙΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ Σ ΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΡΩΤΟΝ μέν, & ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὖχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὄσην εὖνοιαν ων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τἢ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, ταύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο ραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον μβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν 2

ÆSCH. IN CTESIPH. 205. οὖτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆ τελευτῆ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ', ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου οὐ γὰρ εἰσαῦθίς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῆ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. 206. ὧσπερ

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ύμας έμου δει (σχέτλιον γαρ αν είη τουτό γε) ἀλλα τους νόμους και τον ὅρκον, ἐν ῷ πρὸς ἄπασι τοις ἄλλοις δικαίοις και τουτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοιν ἀκροάσασθαι. τουτο δ' ἐστιν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εἴνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλα και τὸ τῆ τάξει και τῆ ἀπολογία, ὡς βεβούληται και προήρηται των ἀγωνιζομένων ἔκαστος, οὖτως ἐασαι χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἔλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα, εν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν — οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὖτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἔτερον δ', δ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ

οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζομένους, οὖτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶτε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου περιίστασθαι, ἀλλὶ ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῆ ἀκροάσει εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.

^{241. &}quot;Αξιον δ' έστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αἰτῶν θεωρῆσαι. εἰ γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὕτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. ὅπου γὰρ δὴ τοὺς

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

των κατηγοριών ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι · τούτων τοίνυν ὁ μέν ἐστι πρὸς 4 ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κᾶν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι · ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οῦν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν · ὅ τι δ' ἄν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζη, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οῦτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

Οΐμαι δ' ύμᾶς πάντας, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, ᾶν 5 ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κᾶν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίνη, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν

μέν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἶς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἐὰν τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζη, τίς ἃν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

^{210.} όλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οἰχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φείγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺ δ' οὕτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὕτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὕτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζει; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἱ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους.

εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, όσφ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν 6 τούτων μέγιστόν έστιν.) περί τούτων δ' όντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων όμοίως ύμων ακούσαί μου περί των κατηγορημένων απολογουμένου δικαίως, ωσπερ οι νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οθς ὁ τιθεὶς έξ ἀρχής Σόλων, εὖνους ῶν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους φετο δείν είναι, άλλα και τώ τους δικάζοντας 7 όμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμίν, ὧς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, άλλ' όρων ότι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αίς έκ του πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ένι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθείν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων έκαστος ύμων την πρός τους θεους ευσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὖστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχῶν ἐαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὖτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περί άπάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῆ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὖχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὄσην εὖνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῆ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῆ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχίνης, κὰγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἄν ἀπελογούμην · ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τἄλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἄμα βραχέα, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἴνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούη μου.

Περί μεν δή των ίδίων όσα λοιδορούμενος βε- 10 βλασφήμηκε περί έμοῦ, θεάσασθε ώς άπλα καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εὶ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οδτος ήτιατο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἡ παρ' ὑμιν), μηδέ φωνην ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ύπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, άλλ' άναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ήδη · εί δὲ πολλώ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἴνα μηδὲν έπαχθες λέγω, χείρονα καὶ έμε καὶ τοὺς έμοὺς ύπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτω μεν μηδ' ύπερ των άλλων πιστεύετε (δήλον γαρ ώς όμοίως απαντ' έπλάττετο), έμοὶ δ', ην παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εύνοιαν ενδεδειχθε επὶ πολλών αγώνων τών πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὧν, 11 Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελώς εὖηθες ὦήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους άφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο οὐχ οὖτω τετύ-

7

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

φωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὖστερον, ἃν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ένίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσγάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας · τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὖτη έχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν όμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαθτα, των μέντοι κατηγοριών και των αιτιών των εἰρημένων, εἴ περ ήσαν άληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῆ 13 πόλει δίκην άξίαν λαβείν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ άφαιρείσθαι δεί τὸ προσελθείν τῷ δήμω καὶ λόγου τυχείν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιείν οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθώς ἔχον οὖτε πολιτικὸν οὖτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι · ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με έώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὖσί γε τηλικούτοις ήλίκα νῦν ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήει, ταις έκ των νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τάδικήματα χρησθαι, εί μέν είσαγγελίας άξια πράττοντά με έώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμιν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον. ου γάρ δήπου Κτησιφώντα μέν δύναται διώκειν δι' έμέ, έμε δέ, εί περ έξελέγχειν ενόμιζεν, αὐτὸν 14 οὐκ ἄν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει ή καὶ ἄλλ' ότιοῦν άδικοθντά με ύμας έώρα, είσι νόμοι περί πάντων καί τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν άπασι γρησθαι, καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκώς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ώμολογεῖτο αν ή κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ 🕏 καὶ φυγών τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὖστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ύποκρίνεται. είτα κατηγορεί μεν έμου, κρίνει δε τουτονί, και του μεν άγωνος όλου την πρός έμε έχθραν προίσταται, ούδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκώς ἐμοὶ τὴν έτόρου ζητων επιτιμίαν αφελέσθαι φαίνεται. πρὸς ἄπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἶς αν είπειν τις ύπερ Κτησιφωντος έχοι, και τουτ' έμοιγε δοκεί καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως αν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ήμετέρας έχθρας ήμας έφ' ήμων αὐτων δίκαιον ήν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιείσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, έτέρω δ' ότω κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητείν ύπερβολή γαρ αδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μεν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως εκ 17 τούτων ἄν τις ἴδοι οὖτε δικαίως οὖτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας

Tis of it

^{54.} Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λύγος ἀποδοθἢ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τἢ πύλει τέτταρες ἥδη γεγάγηνται καιροὶ, ἐν οἶς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται.

οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα · βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' εν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὡ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἴνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρΧοντα καιρὸν ἔκαστα θεωρῆτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δί ς δερεί (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὧστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποι-

ων ένα μεν και πρώτον, ως έγωγε ακούω, καταλογίζεται εκείνον τον χρόνον, εν ω προς Φίλιππον υπέρ Αμφιπόλεως επολεμουμεν. τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τῆ γενομένη εἰρήνη καὶ συμμαχία, ην Φιλοκράτης ὁ Αγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οῦτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς εγὼ δείξω. 55. δεύτερον δέ φησι γενέσθαι δν ήγομεν χρόνον την εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι της ήμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν ή καταλύσας την ύπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῆ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὖτος ἡήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τρίτον δε δυ επολεμουμεν χρόνον μέχρι της άτυχίας της εν Χαιρωνεία, τέταρτον δε τον νύν παρόντα καιρόν. 60. εί τινες ύμων έκ των έμπροσθεν χρόνων ήκουσιν οικοθεν τοιαύτην έχοντες την δύξαν, ώς άρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδεν πώποτε είρηκεν ύπερ Φιλίππου συστάς μετά Φιλοκράτους, -- οστις ούτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἃν ἀκούση · ού γὰρ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμνήσκοι τος τους καιρούς και το ψήφισμα παρεχομένου, δ μετά Φιλοκράτους έγραψε Δημοσθένης, εὰν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκαταλαμβάνη τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περί της έξ άρχης εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας,

οῦντας ὁρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιοῦν αν ἐφησθηναι παθούσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι οίς γάρ εὐτυχήκεσαν έν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως εκέχρηντο · επειθ' ή Πελοπόννησος απασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὖθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους ουτως ἴσχυον ὧστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὖθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' έκείνων άρχοντες κύριοι των πόλεων ήσαν, άλλά τις ήν άκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα 19 δ' όρων ό Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' έκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα αναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αύτοὺς ἐτάραττεν · εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ήμάρτανον άλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων εφύετο. ώς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρείς νῦν δ' ἀτυχείς Θηβαίοι φανεροί πᾶσιν ήσαν αναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν έφ' ύμας, Φίλιππος, ίνα μη τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδέ συνέλθοιεν αί πόλεις, υμίν μεν ειρήνην εκείνοις δε βοήθειαν έπηγγείλατο. (τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῶ πρὸς 20 τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ή των άλλων Έλλήνων, είτε χρη κακίαν είτ' άγνοιαν είτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οῦ πόλεμον συνεχή καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργω φανερον γέγονεν, οὖτε χρήμασιν οὖτε σώμασιν οὖτ' ἄλλω οὐδενὶ τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον

ύμιν · οίς και δικαίως και προσηκόντως δργιζό μενοι έτοίμως ύπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθείσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὖτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη · τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα και δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτἢ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζη δικαίως, ²1 αἴτια εὐρήσει. και ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι και διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ ἐἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν και μνησθεις ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης 'Αριστό-

^{62. &}quot;Εγραψε Φιλοκράτης έξειναι Φιλίππω δεύρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περί εἰρήνης τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. ήκον οι της κρίσεως χρόνοι κατηγόρει μεν Λυκινος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογείτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογείτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης · ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπήει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλής ἄρχων ενταθθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτής εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὖτε λαχῶν οὖτ' ἐπιλαχών, ἀλλ' έκ παρασκευής πριάμενος, εν είς υποδοχήν απαντα και λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ώς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. 63. νικά γαρ ετερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, εν ῷ κολεύει ελέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οίτινες άφικόμενοι πρός Φίλιππον άξιώσουσιν αὐτόν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων είς ην Δημοσθένης. Κάκειθεν επανήκων επαινέτης ην της εἰρήνης, καὶ ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος των βουλευτων έγραψε σπείσασθαι τω κήρυκι τω από του Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει · ο μέν γε την εξουσίαν έδωκε του δευρο κήρυκα και πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῆ πρεσβεία σπένδεται. 64. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ήδη σφόδρα μοι τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ ού πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλά συκοφαντηθέντας

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

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δημος ἢν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα
Φιλοκράτης ὁ 'Αγνούσιος, ὁ σός, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἄν σὰ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐῶ
γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὖβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας
οὔτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἡκεν ἀναιδείας, ὤστ'
ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης
αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἴην τὴν πόλιν
μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν 'Ελλήνων ταύτην ποιή-

υστερον έκ μεταβολής ύπο Δημοσθένους, άλλα προς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς ἄμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἄμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας, πρώτον μέν όπως μη περιμείνητε τους πρέσβεις ους ήτε εκπεπομφότες παρακαλούντες επί Φίλιππον, ίνα μη μετά των άλλων Έλληνων, άλλ' ίδια ποιήσησθε την εἰρήνην. 68. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὁ ἄνδρες Αθηναίοι, ήκον οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις · οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Έλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔτερον ψήφισμα νικά Δημοσθένης, εν ώ γράφει μη μόνον υπέρ της ειρήνης, άλλα και συμμαχίας ύμας βουλεύσασθαι, μη περιμείναντας τους πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους. 72. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δείν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἡῆμα μέμνημαι ώς είπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος), άπορρήξαι τής είρήνης την συμμαχίαν, οὐδε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων άναμένειν μελλήματα, άλλ' ή πολεμείν αὐτοὺς ή τὴν εἰρήνην ιδία ποιείσθαι. καὶ τελευτών έπὶ τὸ βημα παρακαλέσας 'Αντίπατρον έρώτημά τι ήρώτα, προειπων μέν ἃ έρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρη κατά της πόλεως αποκρίνασθαι. Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τώ μέν λόγω προβιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκράτους.

σασθαι. εἶτ' $\tilde{\omega}$ — τί αν εἰπών σε τις ὀρθώς προσείποι; έστιν όπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πραξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν άφαιρούμενόν με της πόλεως ηγανάκτησας ή παρέλθων ταῦτα α νυνὶ κατηγορείς εδίδαξας καὶ 23 διεξήλθες ! καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Έλλήνων κοινωνίαν έπεπράκειν έγω Φιλίππω, σοί το μη σιγησαι λοιπον ήν, άλλα βοαν και διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας ούδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἦκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνην οὐδείς · οὖτε γὰρ ην πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα σαι ἀπεσταλμένη τότε των Ελλήνων, άλλα πάλαι πάντες ήσαν έξεληλεγμένοι, οὖθ' οὖτος ύγιὲς περὶ 24 τούτων είρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρίς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει την πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα έν οίς ψεύδεται · εί γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἄμα τοὺς μὲν Ελληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλείτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς ειρήνης πρέσβεις επέμπετε, Ευρυβάτου πραγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν: τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' αν αὐτοὺς έν τούτω τω καιρώ; έπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ύπηρχεν απασιν. αλλ' έπι τον πόλεμον; αλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης εβουλεύεσθε. Οὔκουν οὔτε της έξ άρχης είρηνης ήγεμων οὐδ' αἴτιος ων έγω φαίνομαι, οὖτε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὅν δείκνυται.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

Έπειδη τοίνυν εποιήσατο την ειρήνην ή πόλις, 25 ένταθθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ήμων έκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἶσεσθε τίς ην ο Φιλίππω πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, και τίς ο πράττων ύπερ ύμων καὶ τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον ζητών. έγω μεν τοίνυν έγραψα βουλεύων αποπλείν την ταχίστην τους πρέσβεις έπι τους τόπους, έν οξε αν όντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τους ορκους απολαμβάνειν ουτοι δε ούδε γράψαντος έμου ταυτα ποιείν ήθέλησαν: τί δὲ τουτ' 26 ηδύνατο, δι ανδρες 'Αθηναίοι; έγω διδάξω. Φιλίππω μεν ήν συμφέρον ως πλειστον τον μεταξύ χρόνον γενέσθαι των δρκων, ύμιν δ' ώς έλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ῆς ὡμόσατε ήμέρας μόνον, άλλ' άφ' ής ήλπίσατε την ειρήνην έσεσθαι, πάσας έξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, όσα της πόλεως προλάβοι προ του τους όρκους αποδούναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως έξειν οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ενεκα. å έγὼ προορώμενος, ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, καὶ λογι- 27 ζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους έν οίς αν ή Φίλιππος, και τους δρκους την

^{82.} οὖτός ἐστιν, ἄ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἦδειμεν πρότερον.

ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἴν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οδτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ την Έργίσκην, ούτω γίγνοινθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μη προλαβών έκεινος τους έπικαίρους των τόπων κύριος της Θράκης κατασταίη, μηδέ πολλών μέν χρημάτων πολλών δε στρατιωτών εύπορήσας έκ τούτων ραδίως τοις λοιποις επιχειροίη πράγμα-28 σιν. είτα τοῦτο μεν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει · εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὤμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου δια- /7 βάλλει. άλλὰ τί έχρην με ποιείν; μη προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἦκοντας, ἴν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθωσιν; ἡ θέαν μὴ κατανείμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι: ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν έθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα της πόλεως έδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' όλα, ωσπερ ούτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβών, δ σαφως ούτος είδως παρέβη. λέγε.

^{76.} Υπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἐστι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἄμα τἢ ἡμέρα ἡγεῖτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὀρικὰ καὶ προὖπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Επὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέᾳ, φυ λῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ᾿Αθηναίων, ὅπως ἀν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῆ ἡ ἐπιχειροτονηθείσα ἐν τῆ πρώτη ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων ᾿Αθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἀν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὡμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὔβουλος ᾿Αναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ραμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τἢ πόλει 30 συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππω ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὖτοι καθῆντο ἐν Μακεδονία τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἔως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἤψατ αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἡ οὐκ ᾶν ὡρκίζομεν αὐτόν, ὧστε τῆς εἰρήνης ᾶν διημαρτήκει ? καὶ οὐκ ἃν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῆ πρεσβεία πρῶτον κλέμμα 31 μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων

άνθρώπων τοιοῦτον έγένετο · ύπερ οδ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις · ἔτερον δ' εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι 32 τούτου μείζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. γαρ ώμοσε την ειρήνην ο Φιλιππος προλαβών την Θράκην δια τούτους ούχι πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ώνείται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἔως τὰ τῆς στρατείας της έπι τους Φωκέας ευτρεπή ποιήσαιτο, ίνα μή, δευρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, έξέλθοιτε ύμεις και περιπλεύσαντες ταις τριήρεσιν είς Πύλας ώσπερ πρότερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἄμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κἀκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἰη 33 Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. Ο οὔτω δ' ην ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβω καὶ πολλη ἀγωνία μη καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθείν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὧστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων άλλ' ίδια καθ' αύτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς είπειν και απαγγείλαι, δι ων απαντ απώλετο. 34 ἀξιῶ δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνησθαι παρ' όλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδεν έξω της γραφης οὐδ' αν εγώ λόγον οὐδενα εποιούμην ετερον, πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἄμα τούτου κεχρη-

μένου ανάγκη καμοί πρὸς έκαστα τῶν κατηγορουμένων μικρά αποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ήσαν οἱ 35 παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ρηθέντες, καὶ δι' οῦς άπαντ' άπώλετο; ώς οὐ δεί θορυβείσθαι τῶ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον είσω Πυλών εσται γὰρ ἄπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοίν ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἶς μέν έχθρὸς ήκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἶς δὲ φίλος, τοὐναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τας οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνως όνομάζων, άλλα το ταυτά συμφέρειν · συμφέρειν δέ Φιλίππω καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἄπασι τῆς αναλγησίας και της βαρύτητος απαλλαγήναι της τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ήκουον 36 αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέγθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὖκ είς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφήναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν άγαγόντας καὶ τούτω πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὖστερον σκευαγωγείν έκ των άγρων, τούτον δε χρυσίον λαβείν, καὶ έτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν την προς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλούς τη πόλει γενέσθαι, την δε χάριν την ύπερ των πεπραγμένων Φιλίππω. ὅτι δ' οὖτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε 37 τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, έξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἄπανθ' ύμιν έσται φανερά. λέγε.

20

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΤΣ

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Έπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα ᾿Αθηναίων μηδεμιᾳ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι · τούτων δ᾽ ἐκάστους, ἢν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε 38 ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὅς ᾶν δὲ ἀπειθήση τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἐαυτόν · περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ ˇΑφιδναν καὶ Ἡραμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

⁷Αρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἣ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὖτος ὁ μισθωτός ; 39 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος 'Αθηναίων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἐαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγηοχότας εἰς αὐτά, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἴνα μὴ πλεῖον ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων · τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲ μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῖτα

οὖδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὧστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.]

'Ακούετε ώς σαφως δηλοί και διορίζεται έν τη 40 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους ότι " έγω ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων 'Αθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ωστ' εἴ περ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὧ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μεν έχθρους υπολήψεσθε, έμοι δε πιστεύσετε," οὐ τούτοις τοις ρήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. ζτοιγαροῦν έκ τούτων ώχετο έκείνους λαβών είς τὸ μηδ' ότιοῦν προοράν των μετά ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, άλλ' έασαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι : έξ ων ταις παρούσαις συμφοραις οί ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πί- 41 στεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστής καὶ ὁ δευρ' ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδή καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οδτός έστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων όδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιών ώς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν

Atjair.

^{133.} Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τήν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι. 156. μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οῦς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῆ πόλει, ῶν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον 157. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀποβλέψατ' αὐ-

Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἦληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὧν αἴτιος. δηλον γὰρ ὅτι σὰ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτημ᾽ ἔχων ἐν τῆ Βοιωτία καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὅς εὐθὺς ἐξητοίμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

42 'Αλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οῦς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Έπειδη γαρ έξηπάτησθε μεν ύμεις ύπο τοῦ Φιλίππου δια τούτων τῶν ἐν ταις πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων έαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππω καὶ οὐδεν ἀληθες ὑμιν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δε οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεις καὶ ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐ-43 τῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μεν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαιοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο · πάντ' ἐκεινος ἦν αὐτοις · οὐδε φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν. ὑμεις δε ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ

τῶν εἰς τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν άλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφὰς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας, ὀψὲ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἰκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπω τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπω φυλάξασθαι.

δυσχεραίνοντες ήγετε την ειρήνην δμως · οὐ γάρ ην ο τι αν εποιείτε. και οι άλλοι δε Ελληνες, όμοίως ύμιν πεφενακισμένοι και διημαρτηκότες ων ήλπισαν, ήγον την είρηνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινά έκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιιὼν Φίλιπ- 44 πος Ἰλλυριούς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Έλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλάς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιείθ' ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῆ τῆς εἰρήνης έξουσία βαδίζοντες έκεισε διεφθείροντο, ων είς ούτος ήν, τότε πάντες, εφ' οθς ταθτα παρεσκευάζετ' εκείνος, επολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἢσθάνοντο, ἔτερος ὁ λόγος ούτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προύλεγον καὶ 45 διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην : αί δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων έπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλών τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῆ καθ' ήμέραν ραστώνη καὶ σχολή δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων άπάντων, πλην ούκ έφ' έαυτοὺς έκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ηξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἐαυτῶν άσφαλως σχήσειν, όταν βούλωνται. εἶτ' οἶμαι 46 συμβέβηκε τοις μέν πλήθεσιν άντι της πολλής καὶ ἀκαίρου ραθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοις δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τάλλα πλην έαυτους οιομένοις πωλείν πρώτους ξαυτούς πεπρα-

κόσιν αἰσθέσθαι · ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ωνομάζοντο ήνίκα έδωροδόκουν, νθν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἆλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' οὐδεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, τὸ 47 ἀκούουσιν. τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὧν ἄν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότη συμβούλω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρηται οὐδεν γὰρ αν ην εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ό ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῆ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης έστί, την δε πονηρίαν είδώς, τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεί καὶ ἀπιστεί καὶ προπη-48 λακίζει. σκοπείτε δέ καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ό τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαθτα καιρός ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοθσιν. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ωνομάζετο, εως προύδωκεν 'Όλυνθον · μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, έως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας · μέχρι τούτου Εὐδικος καὶ Σίμος ὁ Λαρισαίος, ἔως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππω έπρίησταν. είτ έλαυνομένων και ύβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστη γέγονεν. τί δ' 'Αρίστρατος έν Σικυωνι, \ 49 καὶ τί Περίλαος εν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; έξ ων καὶ σαφέστατ αν τις ίδοι ότι ό

μάλιστα φυλάττων την έαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οῦτος ὑμῖν, Λίσχίνη, τοῖς

προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῷ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἄν ἀπολώλειτε.

Τ΄ Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50 πολλά λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ίκανων είρησθαι αίτιος δ' ούτος, ωσπερ έωλοκρα-9.14 σίαν τινά μου της πονηρίας της έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν άδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ην αναγκαίον ην πρός τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δὲ ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ο ότιο ουν είδο τες την τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καί- 51 τοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν είπε που λέγων " ὁ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων έμοί." έγώ σοι ξενίαν 'Αλεξάνδρου: πόθεν λαβόντι ή πως αξιωθέντι; οὐτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὖτ' 'Αλεξάνδρου φίλον εἶποιμ' αν ἐγώ σε. ούχ ούτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δει καλείν των μισθωσαμένων. άλλ' οὐκ 52 έστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν 'Αλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὖτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπι-

^{66.} ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα.

στεις, ερώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ε'γὼ τοῦθ' ὑπερ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμιν, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, δοκει μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἡ ξένος είναι 'Αλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.

53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ήδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν ἐμαυτῷ, ἴνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης
ὅμως ἀκούση δι ἄ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων
δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε
τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ГРАФН.

Επὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἔκτη ἱσταμένου, 54 Αἰσχίνης 'Ατρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατά Κτησιφώντος του Λεωσθένους 'Αναφλυστίου, ότι έγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ώς . ἄρα δεῖ στεφανώσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσφ στεφάνφ, καὶ ἀναχορεθσαι εν τῷ θεάτρω Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοίς καινοις, ότι στεφανοι ὁ δήμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσφ στεφάνφ άρετης ένεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ης έχων διατελεί εἴς τε τοὺς "Ελληνας ἄπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν 'Αθηναίων, καὶ ανδραγαθίας, και διότι διατελεί πράττων και λέγων τα βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἄν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, 55 πάντα ταθτα ψευδή γράψας και παράνομα, των νόμων οὐκ ἐώντων πρώτον μεν ψευδείς γραφάς είς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, είτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχο- . ποιος και έπι των θεωρικών τεταγμένος), έτι δε μη αναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῆ καινῆ, ἀλλ' έὰν μὲν ή βουλή στεφανοί, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίω ἀνειπείν, ἐὰν δὲ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ή πόλις, εν Πυκνὶ εν τῆ εκκλησία. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος 'Ραμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

*Α μεν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Λθη- 56 ναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμιν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἔκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ 57 λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελείν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται εἶτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· Τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα "ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας 58 δῷ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν

^{11.} κατιδών δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφότος τοῦ νομοθέτου εὖρηνται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οῦς εἰ μή τις ὑμῦν ἐρεῖ, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν, εἰ δή τις ἐστὶ μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων · ἀλλὶ οὖν προβάλλονταί γε τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχίνης. προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματὰ στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῷ. 12. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖ-

στέφανον κελευσαι, κοινωνείν μεν ήγουμαι καί τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἶτε αξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἶτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεί, καθ' οθς ταθτα γράφειν έξην τούτω. ούτωσὶ μέν, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, δικαίως καὶ άπλως την άπολογίαν έγνωκα ποιείσθαι, βαδιού-► 59 μαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ύπολάβη απαρταν τον λόγον της γραφης, έαν είς Έλληνικας πράξεις και λόγους έμπέσω ο γαρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ άληθη, οθτός έστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ άπάντων τῶν έμοι πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους και άναγκαίους τη γραφή πεποιηκώς. είτα καὶ πολλών προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν της πολιτείας την περί τὰς Έλληνικὰς πράξεις είλόμην έγώ, ὦστε καὶ τὰς αποδείξεις εκ τούτων δίκαιός είμι ποιείσθαι.

ται· προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὕθυναι· ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἶς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὧ 'Αθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν, ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελών, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΛΝΟΥ.

ПЕРІ

άφ' ής ήμέρας έπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσούτον ύπειπών. πλεονέκτημα, ω άνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππω. παρά γάρ τοῖς 61 Ελλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ' ἄπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτών καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς έχθρων ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, όσην ούδείς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυίαν ους συναγωνιστάς καὶ συνεργούς λαβών καὶ πρότερον κακώς τούς Ελληνας έχοντας πρός έαυτούς καὶ στασιαστικώς έτι χειρον διέθηκε τους μέν έξαπατών, τοις δέ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν είς μέρη πολλά ένδς τοῦ συμφέροντος άπασιν όντος, κωλύειν έκεινον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. έν τοιαύτη δὲ καταστάσει καὶ έτι ἀγνοία τοῦ συν- 62 ισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ελλήνων όντων δεί σκοπείν ύμας, ανδρες 'Αθηναίοι, τί προσηκον ήν έλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιείν την πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβείν - ὁ γὰρ (ἐνταῦθα ἐαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ.) πό- 63 τερον αὐτὴν έχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αύτης ἐν τῆ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππω την των Έλλήνων άρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια άναιρείν; ή τοῦτο μέν μή ποιείν, δεινόν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' έώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κ**ωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ π**ολλοῦ,

30

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

64 ταθτα περιιδεθν γιγνόμενα; άλλα νθν έγωγε τον μάλιστα επιτιμώντα τοις πεπραγμένοις ήδέως αν έροίμην, της ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι την πόλιν έβούλετ' άν, πότερον της συναιτίας των συμβεβηκότων τοις Ελλησι κακών και αισχρών, ής αν Θετταλούς καὶ τούς μετὰ τούτων εἶποι τις, ἡ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταθτα γιγνόμενα έπὶ τῆ τῆς ίδίας πλεονεξίας έλπίδι, ής αν 'Αρκάδας και Μεσσηνί-65 ους καὶ ᾿Αργείους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χείρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ώχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ήγεν ήσυχίαν, μήτε των αύτου συμμάχων μήτε των άλλων Έλλήνων μηδένα μηδέν λυπήσας, ήν αν τις κατά τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἶς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία · εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, την ηγεμονίαν, την έλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μαλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ άπάντων ενδοξότατα ύμεις εβουλεύσασθε εμοί πεισθέντες:

66 'Αλλ' ἐκείσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν, τὸν 'Αθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνήδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἦς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέ-

βην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμής καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην την πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πασι συμφερόντων ή των άλλων Ελλήνων ύπερ αύτων ανηλώκασιν έκαστοι, έωρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν 67 Φίλιππον, πρὸς ον ην ημίν ο αγών, υπερ αρχης καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλείν κατεαγότα, την χείρα, το σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, παν ο τι βουληθείη μέρος η τύχη τοῦ σώ- 5-3 1 \$ ματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὧστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ 68 τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς αν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ώς τῷ μὲν έν Πέλλη τραφέντι, χωρίω αδόξω τότε γε όντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν έγγενέσθαι, ώστε της των Ελλήνων άρχης έπιθυμήσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν 'Αθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην έν πασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι της των προγόνων ἀρετης ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν υπάρξαι, ώστε της έλευθερίας αυτεπαγγέλτους έθελοντας παραχωρήσαι Φιλίππω. οὐδ' αν είς ταθτα φήσειεν. λοιπον τοίνυν ήν και άναγ- 69 καίον ἄμα πασιν οίς έκεινος ἔπραττεν άδικων ύμας έναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ύμεις έξ άρχης, εικότως και προσηκόντως, έγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὰ καθ' οῦς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. όμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με

ποιείν; ήδη γάρ σ' έρωτω, πάντα τάλλ' άφείς, 'Αμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, 'Αλόννησον · οὐ-70 δενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι. Σέρριον δε καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ήδικείτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οίδα. καίτοι σύ γ' έφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Αριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπείθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι αν βουληθῆς. 71 οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὔβοιαν έκείνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων έπιτείχισμα έπὶ τὴν 'Αττικήν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρων, καὶ καταλαμβάνων 'Ωρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστάς έν μὲν 'Ωρεώ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον έν δ' Έρετρία Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ελλήσποντον ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκών, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρών, είς ας δε τους φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταυτα πάντα ποιῶν ἢδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε την εἰρήνην ή οὖ; καὶ πότερον φανηναί τινα των Έλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν 72 έχρην ή μή; Εί μεν γάρ μη έχρην, άλλα την Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν οφθηναι ζώντων καὶ όντων Αθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μεν εγώ περί τούτων είπών, περιείργασται δ' ή πόλις ή πεισθείσα έμοί, έστω δέ άδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα

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έμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ᾿Αθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προίεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα 73 λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίπ-που, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἴτιός ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Επὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιώνος, ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ύπὸ στρατηγών, Ευβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπριος είπεν, έπειδή προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τή ἐκκλησία ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη είκοσι έπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγός 'Αμύντας καταγήοχεν είς Μακεδονίαν καὶ έν φυλακή έχει, επιμεληθήναι τους πρυτάνεις και τους στρατηγούς όπως ή βουλή συναχθώσι και αιρεθώσι πρέσβεις πρός Φίλιππον, οι παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθήναι τὸν 74 ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δί άγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ ᾿Αμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος ούδεν · εί δε τι πλημμελούντα παρά τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, ὅτι έπισκεινάμενοι 'Αθηναίοι έπιτιμήσουσι κατά την της όλιγωρίας άξίαν. εὶ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, άλλ' ιδία άγνωμονοῦσιν η ὁ ἀποστείλας η ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ΐνα αἰσθανόμενος ό δημος βουλεύσηται τί δει ποιείν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὖβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὖκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς ᾿Αριστοφῶν, εἶθ᾽ Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ᾽ ᾿Αριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες · ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὖδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Έπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, βουλης γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἴλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἱπποθοωντίδος, ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

76 ⑤Ωσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὖτω σὺ δεῖξον, Λἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ᾶν ἔχοις εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ᾶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

77 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος 'Αθηναίων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισυφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο

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περί της των πλοίων άφέσεως ων έναυάρχει Λαομέδων. όλου μεν ουν εμοιγε φαίνεσθε εν μεγάλη εθηθεία εσεσθαι, εί γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μεν ώς τον σίτον παραπέμψοντα έκ του Έλλησπόντου είς Λημνον, βοηθήσοντα δε Σηλυμβριανοίς τοίς ὑπ' έμοῦ μεν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῆ κειμέναις ήμιν συνθήκαις. και ταθτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μεν 78 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἰδιωτων μεν νυν όντων, εκ παντός δε τρόπου βουλομένων τον δημον άντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλώ μάλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τουτο συντετελέσθαι ή τοις Σηλυμβριανοίς βοηθήσαι. (καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὑτοίς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον έσεσθαι ου μέντοι μοι δοκεί τουτο χρήσιμον υπάρχειν ουθ' υμιν ουτ' εμοί. διόπερ τα τε νυν καταχθέντα πλοία προς ήμας αφίημι ύμιν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κάγω διαφυλάττειν την ειρήνην. ευτυχείτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 79 αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἃν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐγεγράφει · τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὰ καὶ τούτοις ἡναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὕβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐκ' ᾿Ωρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκείνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς 80

άποστόλους άπαντας άπέστειλα, καθ' ους Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαγοι. έξ ων ύμιν μεν τα κάλλιστα, έπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ύπηρχον, των δ' άδικουμένων τοίς μέν ύμιν τότε πεισθείσιν ή σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοις δ' όλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ύμεις προείπατε ΄ μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ύμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὖνους έαυτοις άλλα και φρονίμους άνθρώπους και μάντεις είναι · πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. 8ι καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἃν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὤστ' ἔχειν 'Ωρεόν, πολλά δὲ Κλείταρχος ωστ' έχειν 'Ερέτριαν, πολλά δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ωστε ταθθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὑτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν άλλων μηδεν έξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' α ποιων ήδίκει μηδένα έξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς άγνοεῖ, καὶ 382 πάντων ηκιστα σύ · οί γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρά σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προύξένεις αὐτῶν · οῦς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ

^{218.} την δ' ἐμὴν σιωπήν, ὅ Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν · ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχρῶς οὖκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὅστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὖκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῆ φύσει δαπάνης. σὰ δ', οὖμαι, λαβῶν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. λέγεις δὲ οὖχ ὑπόταν σοι δοκῆ οὖδ' ὰ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὑπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν · οὖκ αἰσχύνη δὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος, ἃ παραχρημα ἐξελέγχη ψευδόμενος.

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Ο ἔτε δίκαια ο ἔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων Οὐδέν, δ βλασφημών περί έμου και λέγων ώς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. σύ, άλλα βοας μεν έχων, παύσει δε οὐδέποτ, έαν μή σε οδτοι παύσωσιν ατιμώσαντες τήμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ύμων έμε έπι τούτοις τότε, 83. καὶ γράψαντος 'Αριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς άσπερ ούτοσὶ Κτησιφών νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος έν τῷ θεάτρω τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ήδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὐτ' αντείπεν Αίσχίνης παρών οὖτε τὸν εἰπόντα έγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

[Επὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντις, γαμηλιῶνος ἔκτη ἀπιόν- 84 τος, φυλής πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, 'Αριστόνικος Φρεάρριος είπεν, ἐπειδη Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλάς καὶ μεγάλας χ<u>ρεία</u>ς παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς των συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῆ Εὐβοία πόλεων ἡλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ᾿Αθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ο τι αν δύνηται άγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ᾿Αθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανωσαι χρυσφ στεφάνω, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρφ, τραγφδοίς καινοίς, της δε άναγορεύσεως του στεφάνου έπιμεληθήναι την πρυτανεύουσαν φυλήν και τον άγωνοθέτην. είπεν 'Αριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

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- ΤΕστιν οὖν ὄστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τἢ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὖτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἢ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.
- 86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῷ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῷ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοἷς θεοἷς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὅντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.
 - Τα Έπειδη τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ'
 ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῆ δὲ πολιτεία καὶ
 τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κᾶν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων,
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἔτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν
 ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
 πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὅντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ἤξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν
 τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῆ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ'

έπιστήσας έπολιόρκει. Τούτων δε γιγνομένων 88 ο τι μεν προσηκε ποιείν ύμας, ούκ επερωτήσω: δήλον γάρ έστιν άπασιν. άλλα τίς ήν ο βοηθήσας τοις Βυζαντίοις και σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ελλήσποντον άλλοτριωθήναι κατ' έκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναίοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῆ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ άπλῶς ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς: έγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ἀφέλησεν ἄπαντας, 89 οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργω πεπείρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλην δόξαν ένεγκεια έν πασι τοι; κατά τον βίον άφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διηγεν ύμας της νῦν εἰρήνης, ἡν οὖτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οί χρηστοί έπὶ ταις μελλούσαις έλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλ-^{9 14} τιστα βουλόμενοι τους θεους αιτείτε, μη μεταδοίεν ύμιν ων αύτοι προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αύτοις καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς των Περινθίων, οίς έστεφάνουν έκ τούτων την πόλιν.

^{256.} ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φἢ Βυζαντίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἀποστήσαι δὲ ᾿Ακαρνᾶνας, ἐκπλῆξαι δὲ Թηβαίους δημηγορήσας οἴεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἥδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθὼ τοέφοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῆ πόλει.



ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

[Έπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τῷ άλία ἔλεξεν, έκ τῶς βωλῶς λαβων ἡήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Αθηναίων Εν τε τοις προγεγεναμένοις καιροίς εύνοέων διατελεί Βυζαντίοις καί τοις συμμάχοις και συγγενέσι Περινθίοις και πολλάς και μεγάλας χρέίας παρέσχηται, έν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππω τῶ Μακεδόνος επιστρατεύσαντος επί τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν επ' άναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις έκατὸν καὶ είκοσι καὶ σίτφ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐξείλετο άμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων και ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν και τὼς νόμως και τὼς Α... Τοι τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμω τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων 'Αθηναίοις δόμεν επιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, έγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν εν τοις άγωσι, πόθοδον ποτί τὰν βωλάν καὶ τὸν δάμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ημεν πασάν τάν λειτουργιάν · στάσαι δε και εικόνας τρείς έκκαιδεκαπήχεις εν τῷ Βοσπορίω, στεφανούμενον τὸν Δᾶμον τὸν Αθηναίων ύπο τω δάμω τω Βυζαντίων και Περινθίων · ἀποστείλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ές τὰς έν τὰ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριας, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ 'Ολύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνως ὧς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δαμος ὁ ᾿Αθηναίων ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται εί Ελλανες πάντες 'Αθηναίων άρεταν και ταν Βυζαντίων και Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσφ στε-92 φάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτών οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον 'Αλωπεκόννησον στεφανούσιν 'Λθηναίων την βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον χρυσφ στεφάνω άπο ταλάντων έξήκοντα, και Χάριτος βωμον ίδρύονται καὶ Δήμου 'Αθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν

παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, έξελόμενος έκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οἰκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἃν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93 σῶσαι. οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππω γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδε τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν έκ τούτων ή προαίρεσις ή έμη καὶ ή πολιτεία διεπράξατο, άλλα και πασιν έδειξεν άνθρώποις τήν τε της πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ την Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὧν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκών αὐτοὺς έωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οῦ τί γένοιτ' ἄν αἴσχιον ἡ μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' 94 οί και μεμψάμενοι πολλά και δίκαια αν έκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἡγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς έμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες ούδε προϊέμενοι τους άδικουμένους άλλα και σώζοντες εφαίνεσθε, εξ ων δόξαν καὶ εύνοιαν παρά πάντων έκτασθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ήδη των πολιτευομένων, απαντες ισασι δι' οντινα δ' άλλον ή πόλις έστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ρήτορα, πλην δι' έμέ, οὐδ' άν είς είπειν έγοι.

Ίνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἶ τι δυσ- χερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνή-

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σκων, συκοφαντίας ούσας έπιδείξω μη μόνον τώ ψευδείς είναι (τοῦτο μεν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς είδότας ήγουμαι) άλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν άληθεις, ούτως ώς έγω κέχρημαι τοις πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, εν ή δύο βούλομαι των καθ' ύμας πεπραγμένων καλών τη πόλει διεξελθείν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδία καὶ πόλιν κοινή πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόν-96 των αξεί δεί πειρασθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ύμεις τοίνυν, ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γής καὶ hetaαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλ ω τῆς Αττικῆς κατεχόντων άρμοσταις και φρουραις, Ευβοιαν, Τάναγραν, την Βοιωτίαν απασαν, Μέγαρα, Αίγιναν, Κλεωνάς, άλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη της πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, έξηλθετε είς Αλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς, Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε ᾿Αθηναίων πόλλ᾽ ౘν ϵχόντων ͺ μνησικακήσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις των περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων · ἀλλ' 97 οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα αμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὖθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὖτ' ἀκίνδυνα έώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἐαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμης ήθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αύτοὺς διδόναι, όρθως καὶ καλως βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μεν γάρ απασιν ανθρώποις έστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καν έν οἰκίσκω τις αύτὸν καθείρξας τηρή · δεί δὲ τοὺς

42

άγαθούς ἄνδρας έγχειρείν μέν ἄπασιν ἀεὶ τοίς καλοίς, την άγαθην προβαλλομένους έλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ο τι αν ο θεος διδώ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποί- 98 ουν οι υμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταυθ' υμεις οι πρεσβύτεροι, οι Λακεδαιμονίους ου φίλους όντας ουδ' εὐεργέτας, άλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαιοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ανελείν έπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες την τότε Θηβαίοις ρώμην καὶ δόξαν ύπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἶα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. καὶ γάρ τοι 99 πασι τοις Ελλησιν έδείξατε έκ τούτων ότι καν ότιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς έξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν είς τάλλα έχετε, αν δ' ύπερ σωτηρίας ή έλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὖτε μνησικακήσετε οὖθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὖκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον ούτως έσχήκατε, άλλα πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων την Εὖβοιαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ 'Ωρωπον ηδίκησθε ανεμνήσθητε, αλλ' έβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τη πόλει, ων είς ην έγω. άλλ' οὖπω περί τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ 100 σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς έξημαρτηκόσιν είς ύμας, μηδέν ων ηδίκησθε ύπολο-

γισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν έτερα εἰπεῖν έχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, έξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἁπάσας ή πόλις της των άλλων Ελλήνων έλευθερίας τοι καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εἶτ' έγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς έν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοις άλλοις συμφερόντων έθέλουσαν άγωνίζεσθαι, ύπερ αὐτης τρόπον τινά της βουλης οὖσης τί έμελλον κελεύσειν ή τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτή ποιείν; μνησικακείν νη Δία πρός τους βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ας απαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ αν ἀπέκτεινέ 7 με δικαίως, εί τι των ύπαρχόντων τη πόλει καλών λόγω μόνον καταισχύνειν έπεχείρησα; \έπεὶ τό γε έργον οὐκ αν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβως οίδ' $\dot{\epsilon}$ γώ· \backslash εὶ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν $\dot{\epsilon}$ μποδών; ούχ ύπηρχον οί ταθτ' έροθντες οθτοι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἑξῆς ἐπολιτευόμην · καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῆ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἡ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν απολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' δν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἡνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικου

μένους, τῆ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρώ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ 103 γραφείς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας των συμμοριων ή τούς δευτέρους και τρίτους νας των συμμοριων η τους σετερείναι μέν μη θείναι οίεσθε μοι διδόναι, ώστε μάλιστα μέν μη θείναι -- Θείλλοντα εάν εν τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἐᾶν ἐν ύπωμοσία; τοσαυτ', ω ανδρες 'Αθηναίοι, οσα οκνήσαιμ' αν προς ύμας είπειν. και ταυτ' είκό- 104 τως έπραττον έκεινοι. ήν γάρ αὐτοις έκ μέν των προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργείν, αὐτοίς μέν μικρά καὶ οὐδέν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοίν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς έκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής · οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους έτι ωνόμαζον έαυτούς, άλλα συντελείς. ωστε δή ταθτα λυθήναι καὶ μή τὰ δίκαια ποιείν ἀναγκασθήναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ο τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρώτον μέν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' δ 105 είσηλθον την γραφήν, είτα τους καταλόγους, τόν τ' έκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Επὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποθοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημο-

σθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συιτέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων · καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος · καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οῦ λαβῶν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

106 Φέρε δη καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῆ χορηγία χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δη παρά τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα · ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἔως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἶς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

107 *Αρα μικρὰ βοηθήσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἡ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἀν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων

Tmarchy, a Jose just.

κατά τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμίν, οὖκ ἐν Μουνυχία ἐκαθέζετο, οὖχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων έδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὖτ' ἔξω καταλειφθείσα ἀπώλετο τῆ πόλει, οὖτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους 108 νόμους άπαντα ταῦτα έγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, έν τοις πένησιν ήν τὸ λειτουργείν πολλά δη τὰ άδύνατα συνέβαινεν. έγω δ' έκ των απόρων είς τους ευπόρους μετήνεγκα τας τριηραρχίας πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαθτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, άφ' ων αμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῆ πόλει, βάσκανον δε καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν έστι πολίτευμα έμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ήθος έχων έν τε 109 τοίς κατά τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοίς Ελληνικοις φανήσομαι ούτε γάρ έν τη πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ τῶν πολλών δίκαια είλόμην, οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δώρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησα ἀντὶ των κοινή πασι τοις Ελλησι συμφερόντων.

Ήγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κη- 110 ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν · τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-



48 ΔΗΜΟΣΘΈΝΟΤΣ

μένων δεδηλώσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων εἰμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἶτα, κὰν μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

111 Των μέν οὖν λόγων, οὖς οὖτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκων ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὖτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὖτ' αὐτὸς ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς ἀπλως δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὖκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὖτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο,

^{13.} Λέξουσι δέ, ω 'Αθηναίοι, καὶ ἔτερον λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ άρτίως είρημένω, ώς άρα, όσα τις αίρετος ων πράττει κατά ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία: άργας δε φήσουσιν εκείνας είναι, ας οι θεσμοθέται αποκληρούσιν έν τῷ Θησείῳ, κἀκείνας, ας ὁ δημος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχάς, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. 14. έγω δε προς τους λόγους τους τούτων νόμον υμέτερον παρέξομαι, δν ύμεις ενομοθετήσατε λύσειν ήγούμενοι τας τοιαύτας προφάσεις, εν ῷ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, "τὰς χειροτονητάς" φησιν "ἀρχὰς" ἀπάσας ένὶ περιλαβών ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπων άρχὰς άπάσας είναι ας ὁ δημος χειροτονεί, "καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας" φησὶ "τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων·" ἔστι δὲ δ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων "καὶ πάντας, ὄσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἡ τριάκονθ' ήμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ήγεμονίας εικαστηρίων."

ωσθ' απαντα τον βίον υπεύθυνος είναι ομολογω ών ἡ διακεχείρικα ἡ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμιν. ων μέντοι γε έκ της ίδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος 112 δέδωκα τῷ δήμφ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος είναι φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη ;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' αν των ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ων τύχη. (τίς γάρ έστι νόμος τοσαύτης άδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστός, ώστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα πράγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον της χάριτος μεν αποστερείν, είς τους συκοφάντας δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν έφιστάναι;) οὐδὲ είς. εί δέ φησιν οῦτος, δειξάτω, κάγω στέρξω και σιωπήσομαι. άλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, 113 ανδρες 'Αθηναίοι, άλλ' οῦτος συκοφαντών, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὢν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, "ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν," φησιν, " ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα." οὐ περί τούτων γε οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς

4.

^{17.} Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὅν φησι Δημοσθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὕτος, "τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἐκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μεῖζον ἐξείργασμαι. Τίνος οὖν εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μή τίς ἐστιν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη;" Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτη τῷ πόλει οὖτως ἀρχαία οὖση καὶ τηλικαύτη τὸ μέγεθος οὐδείς ἐστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. 23. Οταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· "οἰκ οὖν ἐχρῆν σε, ὧ Δημόσθενες, ἐᾶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς

έπέδωκα, δι συκοφάντα. άλλα και τειχοποιός ησθα. καὶ διά γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τάνηλωμένα έδωκα καὶ οὐκ έλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γαρ λογισμός εὐθυνων καὶ των έξετασόντων προσδείται, ή δε δωρεά χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία έστι τυγχάνειν διόπερ ταῦτ' έγραψεν 114 όδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὖτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοις νόμοις άλλα και έν τοις υμετέροις ήθεσιν ἄρισται, ἐγὰ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μέν γὰρ Ναυσικλης στρατηγών, ἐφ' οἷς απὸ τών ίδίων προείτο, πολλάκις έστεφάνωται ύφ' ύμων. είθ' ότε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότίμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, έστεφανοῦντο · είθ' οὐτοσὶ Νεοπτόλεμος πολλων έργων επιστάτης ων, εφ' οίς επέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γάρ αν είη τουτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἡ διδόναι τῆ πόλει τὰ έαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἡ τῶν δοθέντων αντί τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας 115 ύφέξει. "Ότι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθη λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητήσαί σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς. μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἔξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ᾽ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὶ ὕστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν."



ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Αρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτη μετ εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλης καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆ βουλη καὶ τῷ δήμω στεφανῶσιι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι ᾿Αθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὅντων ἐν Ἦβρω καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ᾿Αθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δημον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλής γνώ- 116 μη, ἐπειδη Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμινα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῆ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχη τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγφδοῖς καινοῖς · τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἔκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ῆς 117 ῆρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ ταὐτὰ γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ῶν ὧν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ'

άδίκως ἢρξα; εἶτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἰ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Επὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φὺλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους 'Αναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἐκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 'Αθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἡς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν 'Αθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

119 Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὰ γέγραψαι · ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφη. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

βάσκανος ὄντως ποιός τις αν είη πρὸς θεων; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

○ Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττε- 120
 σθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρό-

32. 'Ως τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανόμως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μέν τινα στεφανοῖ ἡ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησία, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

NOMOS.

33. Οὖτος ὁ νόμος, ὧ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. οὖ γάρ, οἶμαι, ῷετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὖτἢ τἢ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης οὖτως · ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

34. ᾿Ακούετε, ὅ ᾿Αθηναίοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμω ἐν Πυκνὶ τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων ᾿Αθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδὲ ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλὶ ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἴν ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν, οἰον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. 35. οὖτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις · ἃς ἐγὰ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἴνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Οὖτοι γάρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν

τερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὖτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἃν ἀναρρηθῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἔνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ

ύμων, 36. καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῆδε τῆ γραφή, και λέξουσιν ώς είσι τή πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περί των κηρυγμάτων, είς μεν ον νυν εγώ παρεχομαι διαρρήδην άπαγορεύοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι έξω της εκκλησίας, ετερον δ' είναι νόμον φήσουσιν εναντίον τούτω, τὸν δεδωκότα έξουσίαν ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοίς εν τῷ θεάτρω, εὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος κατὰ δή τουτον τον νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τον Κτησιφώντα. 40. Εἰ τοίνυν, ὅ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οίμαι, των μεν θεσμοθετών εξευρόντων, των δε πρυτάνεων άποδόντων τοις νομοθέταις ανήρητ' αν ο έτερος των νόμων, ήτοι ο την εξουσίαν δεδωκώς άνειπειν η ο άπαγορεύων ο όποτε δε μηδεν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δή που έξελέγχονται ου μόνον ψευδή λέγοντες, άλλα και παντελώς άδύνατα γενέσθαι. 44. Συνιδών δή τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περί των ύπο του δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμω, ούτε λύσας έκείνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὖτ' έναντίον τοις πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθείς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), άλλα περί των ανευ ψηφίσματος υμετέρου στεφανουμένων υπό των φυλετών και δημοτών και περί των τους οικέτας άπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετών ή δημοτών άναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήθ' ὑπ' άλλου, φησί, μηδενός, η άτιμον είναι τὸν κήρυκα. 45. Όταν ουν αποδείξη τοις μεν υπό της βουλης στεφανουμένοις είς τὸ βουλευτήριον αναρρηθήναι, τοις δ' ύπὸ του δήμου στεφανουμένοις είς την εκκλησίαν, τοις δ' ύπο των δημοτών στεφανουμέ-

R.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

θεάτρω γίγνεται το κήρυγμα; οι γαρ ακούσαντες ἀπαντες εις το ποιείν εὐ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

NOMOS.

[Όσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἄναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ · τού દ τους δ` ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

'Ακούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, 121 πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἡ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται · τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὧ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνη

νοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπη μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγφδοῖς, ἴνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπείπη δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, — ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλη, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; 48. Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν ναὶ, εἴ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῦ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ ᾿Αθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ "ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ" ὅ τι ἔστιν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις, ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὖς ὅλους δίκαιον ἢν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὀμω122 μοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὤσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφήν, εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγρα-

168. Ναί, άλλα δημοτικός έστιν. έαν μεν τοίνυν προς την εύφημίαν των λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, έξαπατηθήσεσθε, ωσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. μεν μεθ' ύμων λογιούμαι, α δεί ύπαρξαι έν τη φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω, ποῖόν τινα εἰκός έστιν είναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον : ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες εκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ αὐτόν, μη ὑποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, άλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. 169. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἄπαντας αν ὁμολογήσειν ύμας τάδε δειν ύπαρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν είναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἴνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περί τὸ γένος ἀτυγίαν δυσμενης ή τοις νόμοις, οι σώζουσι την δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' άπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δημον ὑπάρχειν, ἡ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ίνα μη βοηθών τοις τών προγόνων άτυχήμασι κακώς έπιχειρή ποιείν την πόλιν. 170. τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρη πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν της δαπάνης δωροδοκή κατὰ τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεισθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ἡήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας : εἰ δὲ μή, τήν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην άεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, ίνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους έγκαταλείπη τὸν δημον. τὸν δ' όλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τάναντία τούτων ἔχειν τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δή, τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει ό δὲ λυγισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πῶσι δικαίοις.

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φης κομιζόμενος, η λόγω τους δημοτικους άλλ' οὐ τοις πράγμασι καὶ τοις πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ βοᾶς ρητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ωσπερ έξ άμάξης, α σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὧ ἄνδρες 123 'Αθηναίοι. έγω λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτω διαφέρειν ήγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' έχειν, ων έν τοις νόμοις είσιν αι τιμωρίαι, την δέ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ας κατά την αύτων φύσιν τοις έχθροις περι άλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ύπειληφα ούχ ίνα συλλέξαντες ύμας είς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν άλλήλους, άλλ' ενα έξελέγχωμεν, έάν τις ήδικηκώς τι τυγχάνη τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς 124 Αίσχίνης ούδεν ήττον έμου πομπεύειν αντί του κατηγορείν είλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον έχων δίκαιός έστιν απελθείν. ήδη δ' έπι ταυτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἡ ἐμὸν εἶναι A φη ; εμον δηλον ότι. είτα ου μεν ην παρ' εμου δίκην κατά τους νόμους ύπερ τούτων λαβείν, εί περ ηδίκουν, έξέλειπες, έν ταις εύθύναις, έν ταις γραφαίς, ἐν ταίς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν οὖ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν 125 άθφος άπασι, τοις νόμοις, τῷ χρόνω, τῆ προθεσμία, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε έξελεγχθηναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς

άδικων, τη πόλει δ' ή πλέον ή έλαττον ανάγκη των γε δημοσία πεπραγμένων μετειναι της δόξης, ένταθθα απήντηκας; δρα μη τούτων μεν έχθρὸς ής, έμοι δε προσποιή.

126 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἄπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὧν καὶ τίνων ῥαδίως οὔτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἄν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγτες δασθαι; — εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἡ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἡ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὅλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἄν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ εἰπεῖν οὐδ ἄν οὔτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὤσπερ ἐν τραγωδία βοῶντα ὧ γῆ καὶ ἤλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ

^{166.} Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὧ σιδήρεοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; "Οτ' ἔφη παρελθών "ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορραφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, τινὲς πρῶτον ὧσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι." 167. Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστιν, ὧ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἡ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλω περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων 'Αλεξάνδρω.

^{260.} Έγὰ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἢλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἢ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα.

πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἢ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται · ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὧ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν 128 ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἢς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἄν εῖς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κᾶν ἐτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπία τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶνξύλον, ἡ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἤρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε;. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγονς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν 130



αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι οὐδε γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ην, άλλ' οίς ὁ δημος καταραται, όψε γάρ ποτε —, οψε λέγω; χθες μεν οῦν καὶ πρώην αμ' 'Αθηναίος και ρήτωρ γέγονε, και δύο συλλαβάς προσθείς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντί Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν 'Ατρόμητον, την δε μητέρα σεμνώς πάνυ Γλαυκςθέαν, ην Εμπουσαν απαντες ισασι καλουμένην, έκ τοῦ πάντα ποιείν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης της έπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν πόθεν 131 γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὖτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ωστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς ούχ όπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτόν κατά τουτωνί πολιτεύη. καί περί ων μέν έστί τις αμφισβήτησις, ώς άρα ύπερ της πόλεως εζρηκεν, εάσω · α δ' ύπερ των εχθρων φανερως ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

132 Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα ᾿Αντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὖτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι

133 ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

άγνοιαν εν ου δέοντι συμβεβηκυίαν ίδουσα έπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν ώς ύμας, εξήρπαστ' αν ό τοιουτος και τὸ δίκην δουναι διαδύς έξεπέμπετ αν ύπο του σεμνολόγου τουτουί · νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. γαροῦν είδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου τότε τούτω πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ύμων σύνδικον ύπερ τοῦ ίεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλω ἀπὸ της αὐτης άγνοίας ήσπερ πολλά προξεσ θ ε τῶν κοινών, ώς προσείλεσθε κάκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν έποιήσατε, τοῦτον μεν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ώς προδότην Υπερείδη δε λέγειν προσέταξεν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα την ψηφον έπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψηφος ηνέχθη τῶ μιαρφ τούτφ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθη λέγω, κάλει 135 τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

MAPTYPES.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἶδε, Καλλίας Σουνιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλω εἰς τοὺς ᾿Αμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἐτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

- 136 Εν μέν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἔτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ρέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερῶς οὖτως ὧστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν οὖτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τἀναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῆ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.
- 137 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ'

 νὅστερον 'Αναξίνῷ΄ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν
 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὄστις τῷ ὑπὸ
 τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνήει καὶ
 ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οῦτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῆ φύσει
 κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῆ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι
 ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ύπερείδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην ᾿Ατρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον

"Αναξίνφ, δε εκρίθη είναι κατάσκοπος παρά Φιλίππου. αδται ἀπεδόθησαν αι μαρτυρίαι επί Νικίου, εκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ισταμένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ 138 παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὖτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἄν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὖτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ῆν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι · διόπερ ῥῷόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἡ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συν- 139 αγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππω δεινὸν μέν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὖ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος · δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ᾽ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμω τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ᾽ ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὅ τι μὲν πώποτ᾽ ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὐτοσὶ ἰαμβειοψεκός, οὐκ ἃν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ᾽ ἔλαττον ψήφισμα



οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνη ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῆ πόλει εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. [καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἡ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ ἐμοῦ τότ ἔχοντ ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ ἔτερα, ἡ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.]

140 'Aρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὧσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἐτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὖτος λανθάνειν· ἕν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατο, ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος·

^{113.} Ταύτης της άρας και των όρκων και της μαντείας γενομένης, αναγεγραμμένων έτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Αμφισσεῖς, μαλλον δε οί προεστηκότες αὐτων, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ετείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας εξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίσυς χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ων είς ην Δημοσθένης. 114. χειρυτονηθείς γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει δισχιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν 'Αμφισσέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς 'Αμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Αθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἶκοσι των έξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ῷτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Αμφισσεῦσιν Αθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον 116. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ήμιν παρά των βουλομένων εύνοιαν ένδείκνυσθαι τη πόλει, ότι οί Αμφισσείς υποπεπτωκότες τότε και δεινώς θεραπεύοντες τους Θηβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατά της ύμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιώσαι τὸν δήμον των Αθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς άσπίδας άνέθεμεν πρός τον καινόν νεών πρίν έξειργάσθαι, καί

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

Σερὶ οὖ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν
 Αμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς
 διαστρέψων τἀληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι·
 πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψη σὺ τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα
 σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὖτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὡ ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, 141 τοὺς θεοὺς ἄπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν ᾿Αττικήν, καὶ τὸν ᾿Απόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, δς πατρῷός ἐστι τἢ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν

έπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσήκον ἐπίγραμμα " Αθηναίοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων ότε τάναντία τοις Ελλησιν έμάχοντο." Μεταπεμψάμενος δ' έμε ὁ ἱερομνήμων ήξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ είπειν τι πρὸς τοὺς Αμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν ούτω προηρημένον. ΙΙΤ. Αρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγόρων μεθεστηκότων, αναβοήσας τις των 'Αμφισσέων, ανθρωπος άσελγέστατος καί, ως έμοὶ έφαίνετο, οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκώς, ίσως δε καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς εξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου, " ἀρχὴν δέ γε," ἔφη, " ὧ ἄνδρες Ελληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ' ἃν ώνομάζετε τουνομα του δήμου των Αθηναίων εν ταισδε ταις ήμεραις, άλλ' ώς έναγεις έξειργετ' αν έκ τοῦ ίεροῦ." 118. "Αμα δὲ έμέμνητο της των Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ην ὁ Κρώβυλος ἐκείνος έγραψε, καὶ άλλα πολλά καὶ δυσχερή κατά της πόλεως διεξήει λέγων, α έγω ούτε τότ' εκαρτέρουν ακούων ούτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημα αὐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὖτω παρωξύνθην ώς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ **Δευτοῦ βίφ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι ἐπῆλθε** 🗗 📆 μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μνησθήναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΤΣ

66

μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἡ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἔνεκ αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

142 Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὐτωσὶ σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδῶς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῆ οὖτος ἐλάττων ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι

τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἑστηκὼς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς ᾿Αμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον). 124. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν ᾿Αμφικτυόνων · ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγίγνοντο τῶν ᾿Αμφισσέων κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινός ἢν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως · τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἤκειν τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ἡητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα, καθ' ὅ τι δίκην δώσουσιν οἱ ᾿Αμφισσεῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

125. Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῆ βουλῆ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πύλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ ᾿Αμφίσσης ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελ-

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

τὰ ψευδη δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν 'Αμ- 143 φίσση πόλεμον, δι' δν εἰς Ἑλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιπ- πος καὶ δι' δν ἡρέθη τῶν 'Αμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, δς ἄπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἶς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ "πόλεμον εἰς τὴν 'Αττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον 'Αμφικτυονικόν" οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύ-

θων είς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ίδιώτας εκφέρεται προβούλευμα είς την εκκλησίαν, προσλαβών την τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν · 126. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία διεπράξατο επιψηφισθήναι και γενέσθαι δήμου ψήφισμα ήδη έπαναστάσης της έκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος έμου, ου γάρ ἄν ποτε έπέτρεψα, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων οὖ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι "τὸν ἱερομνήμονα," φησί, "τῶν Αθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τους αξι πυλαγορούντας πορεύεσθαι είς Πύλας και είς Δελφούς έν τοις τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ύπὸ τῶν προγόνων," εὐπρεπῶς γε τῶ ονόματι, άλλὰ τῷ ἔργψ αἰσχρῶς · κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ος ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίγνεσθαι. 127. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει "τὸν ίερομνήμονα," φησί, "των 'Αθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγορούντας μη μετέχειν τοις έκει συλλεγομένοις μήτε λόγων μήτε έργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιας." το δε μή μετέχειν τί έστι; πότερα τάληθες είπω η τὸ ηδιστον ἀκοῦσαι; τὸ άληθες έρω · τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον ούτωσὶ τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. οὐκ ἐᾳ μεμνησθαι τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ώμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας. 128. Ήμεις μεν ουν, ω Αθηναίοι, κατεμείναμεν διά τουτο τὸ μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν

144 ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἦτις δ' ἡ φύσις,

ὧ ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος εἴνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ
πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ
μεγάλα ἀφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν,
καὶ ὄση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἢν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππω, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλούς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τἢ πόλει · ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὄμως ὑπ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ τη τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ εἰς τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε

ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι 'Αμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἢς ἐγὼ οὕτ' αν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν 'Ελλήνων. καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Αμφισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἴλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονία Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῆ 'Ελλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος · ον αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ελληνας ἐπήγαγον. 129. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῆ πρώτη στρατεία καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῦς 'Αμφισσεῦσιν · ἀντὶ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

θηβαίων διιέντων συνέβαινε δε αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμω κρατούντι τους όποιουσδήποθ' ύμεις έξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐω γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῆ τῆ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις κακοπαθείν. εί μεν οὖν της ιδίας ενεκ' έχθρας ή 147 τους Θετταλούς ή τους Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν εφ' ύμας, οὐδεν' αν ήγειτο προσέξειν αύτώ τὸν νοῦν · ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβων ήγεμων αίρεθη, ράον ήλπιζε τὰ μέν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ώς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς 'Αμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν : εἰς γὰρ ταῦθ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὑτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἡ τῶν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ 148 πεμπομένων ίερομνημόνων ή των έκείνου συμμάχων είσηγοιτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πραγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, αν δ' 'Αθηναίος ή και παρ'

γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ ἐν ἡητῷ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τούς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν ᾿Αμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς ᾿Αμφισσέας στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὑστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγενημένης.

ύμων των ύπεναντίων ό τοῦτο ποιων, εὐπόρως σειν· όπερ συνέβη. πως οδυ ταθτ' έποίησε 149 μισθούται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὧσπερ εἴωθε τοιαθτα παρ' υμίν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθείς πυ. γορος ούτος καὶ τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων χειροτο σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλι άξίωμα λαβών άφίκετο είς τους Αμφικτύον πάντα τάλλ' άφεις και παριδών επέραινεν εφ' έμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθο υ όθεν ή Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθείς ι διεξελθών ανθρώπους απείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μ 150 λον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πεί ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἡν οἱ μὲν 'Α φισσείς σφών αὐτών οὖσαν γεωργείν ἔφασι ούτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἠτιᾶτο είναι, οὐδεμι δίκην των Λοκρων ἐπαγόντων ἡμιν, οὐδ' ἃ ι ούτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθη. σεσθε δ' έκειθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκα. σασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς 1 λεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶ άπὸ ποίας άρχης; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δείξον. ά οὐκ αν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενή προφάσει ταύτη κα 151 χρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώρ τῶν ᾿Αμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν το του, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκι τισαν απαντας, τινάς δέ καὶ συνήρπασαν τ

εερομνημόνων. ώς δ' απαξ έκ τούτων έγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Αμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Αμφικτυόνων ήγαγε στρατιάν, ώς δ' οι μεν οὐκ ηλθον, οί δ' έλθόντες οὐδεν εποίουν, είς την επιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ήγον οι κατεσκευασμένοι και πάλαι πονηροί των θετταλών καὶ τών ἐν ταις ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ 152 προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν ή γὰρ αὐτοὺς είσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν έφασαν δείν καὶ ζημιούν τους μη ταυτα ποιούντας, ή έκείνον αίρείσθαι. τί δεί τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἡρέθη γὰρ έκ τούτων ήγεμών. καὶ μετά ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθών ώς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ γώς ε Λοκροίς, την 'Ελάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εί μεν 153 οὖν μη μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ώς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαίοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὤσπερ χειμάρρους αν απαν τοῦτο τὸ πραγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν · νῦν δὲ τό γ' εξαίφνης επέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μέν, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, θεών τινὸς εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ όσον καθ' ένα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' έμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἶς ἔκαστα πέπρακται, ιν' είδητε ήλίκα πράγματα ή μιαρά κεφαλή ταράξασα αυτη δίκην οὐκ έδωκεν. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.



ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΎΟΝΩΝ.

154 [Επὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς γόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν ᾿Αμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοιν ᾿Αμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ ᾿Αμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπ τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαὶ τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς ᾿Αμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιπι ἐπιβαίνειν.]

ΕΤΈΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

155 [Επὶ ἰερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς γόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδμοις τῶν 'Αμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοιν 'Αμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ 'Αμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν νειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυτοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶ λήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τιματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν 'Αμφικτυόνων τυφον τὸν 'Αρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακ καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἴνα βοηθήση τῷ τε 'Απόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς 'Αμφ σιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν 'Αμφισσέων τὸι πλημμελούμενον καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτοι ροῦνται οἱ 'Ελληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν φικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δη και τους χρόνους εν οίς ταυτ'
γνετο είσι γαρ καθ' ους επυλαγόρησεν ο
λέγε.

XPONOI.

[Αρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐι κάτη.]

W

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον 156 οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσω συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ᾿Αμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο · ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς Ἦστας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις . αὐτῷ παρασχῶν οὖτος ἦν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεύς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῆ 157 συμμαχία τοις δημιουργοις καὶ τοις συνέδροις καὶ τοις ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι 'Οζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν 'Αμφίσση, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοις καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν · ώστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῷου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ 'Αθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. τοις δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίοις: εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Όραθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ 158 τὰς ᾿Αμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὖτος; μὴ τοίνυν

λέγετε, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ 'Ελλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν παρ' 159 ἐκάστοις, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί · ὧν εἶς οὑτοσί, ὄν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἄν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων · ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οῦτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὁν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω · πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων άψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφιχθαι · ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἔνεκ' ἃν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναιοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεις δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

161 ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἐκατέροις ὁ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐᾶν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἔν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦ.ο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς

έμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμ-Βάνων, άλλ' είδως 'Αριστοφωντα καὶ πάλιν Εύ- 162 βουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην την φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις αντιλέγοντας τουθ' όμογνωμονούντας αεί. συ ζωντας μέν, ω κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' ούκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορών. α γαρ περί Θηβαίων επιτιμάς εμοί, εκείνων πολύ μαλλον ή έμου κατηγορείς, των πρότερον ή έγω ταύτην την συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. έκεισε επάνειμι, ότι τον εν Αμφίσση πόλεμον τούτου μεν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δε των άλλων των συνεργών αὐτώ την πρὸς Θηβαίους έχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ≀ούπερ ένεκα τὰς πόλεις ούτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εί μη προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αν ήδυνήθημεν · ούτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον ούτοι την έχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ήτε ήδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Επὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἔκτη φθί-164 νοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθηίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἃς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίω δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν παρακευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν

εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἴτινες αὐτῷ διιιλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεςς σασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῆ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος ᾿Αναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας ᾿Αλωπεκῆθεν.]

W

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

5 [Επὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουνυχιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἴτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται ΄ (καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθείν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὔνομος ᾿Αναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δη καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος 'Αθηναίων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἡν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἴρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι Βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς · βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐαυτῶν αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν

μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ἄν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεύς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ 167 δήμω χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι ἡς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ᾿Αθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὰ αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῆ προαρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἡ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἤσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ · ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὔτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλ-168 λήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψη- 9. Ψ. φίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἣκεν ἔχων τὴν 2. δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' αν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων αν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῷ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἄπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα.

Έσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169

ì

TPOBOULOUNATIKA

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τούς πρυτάνεις ώς 'Ελάτεια κατείληπται. μετά ταθτα οί μεν εθθυς εξαναστάντες μεταξύ δειπνοθντες τούς τ' έκ των σκηνων των κατά την άγοραν έξειργον και τα γέρρα ένεπίμπρασαν, οί δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτην εκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ήν ή πόλις. τη δ' ύστεραία αμα τη ήμέρα οι μεν πρυτάνεις την βουλην εκάλουν είς το βουλευτήριον, ύμεις δ' είς την εκκλησίαν επορεύεσθε, και πριν εκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω 170 καθήτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ απήγγειλαν οί πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα έαυτοις και τον ηκοντα παρήγαγον κάκεινος είπεν, ηρώτα μεν ο κηρυξ "τίς αγορεύειν βούλεται;" παρήει δ' οὐδείς. πολλάκις δε τοῦ κήρυκος έρωτωντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ οὐδείς, ἀπάντων μέν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ρητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας την γάρ ὁ κηρυξ κατά τους νόμους φωνήν αφίησι, ταύτην κοινήν 171 της πατρίδος δίκαιόν έστιν ήγεισθαι. μεν τους σωθηναι την πόλιν βουλομένους παρελ- θ εῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἀν^θύμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ᾿Α θ ηναιοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βημα ἐβαδίζετε πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε \cdot εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι · εἰ δὲ τοὺς άμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὖνους τῆ πόλει καὶ πλου-

σίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες · καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτω τοῦτ' ἐποίηάλλ' ώς ἔοικεν, ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ 172 ήμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὖνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν έξ άρχης, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθώς τίνος ένεκα ταῦτ' έπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος · ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδώς μηδ' έξητακώς πόρρωθεν, οὖτ' εἰ εὖνους ἦν οὖτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδεν μαλλον ήμελλεν ο τι χρή ποιείν είσεσθαι ούδ' ύμιν έξειν συμβουλεύειν. έφάνην τοίνυν ούτος 173 έν έκείνη τῆ ἡμέρα έγώ, καὶ παρελθών εἶπον εἰς ύμας, α μου δυοίν ένεκ ακούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μέν, ἴν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων έγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν έν τοις δεινοις οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων έξηταζόμην τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοις τοις φοβεροις, έτέρου δέ, ότι μικρον αναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλώ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας έσεσθ' έμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι 174 " τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππω λίαν θορυβουμένους άγνοείν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ήγουμαι εὐ γὰρ οίδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν έχον, οὐκ αν αὐτὸν ἡκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατεία οντα, άλλ' έπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ιν έτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ηκει, σαφῶς έπίσταμαι. ως δ' έχει," έφην, "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ 1/25

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μου. ἐκείνος ὄσους ἡ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ή έξαπατήσαι ένην, απαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' άπ' άρχης άνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ένεκα την Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν: πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν έαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπληξαι, ιν' ἡ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες α νυν ουκ εθέλουσιν, 176 ή βιασθώσιν. εί μεν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ήμεις," έφην, " έν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρώτον μέν ἃ αν εὖξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, είτα φοβοῦμαι μη προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιῷ γνώμη πάντων φιλιππισάντων είς την Αττικήν έλθωσιν άμφότεροι. αν μέντοι πεισθητ' έμοι και προς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἇν λέγω γένησθε, οξμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῆ πόλει διατίτη λύσειν. τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα έπανειναι φόβον, είτα μεταθέσθαι καί φοβείσθαι πάντας ύπερ Θηβαίων · πολύ γάρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος · ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινάδε τους έν ήλικία και τους ίππέας δείξαι

πασιν ύμας αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἴνα τοῖς έν θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ότι, ώσπερ τοις πωλούσι Φιλίππω την πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ή βοηθήσουσα δύναμις έν 'Ελατεία, ούτω τοις ύπερ της ελευθερίας αγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', έαν τις έπ' αὐτοὺς ἴη. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονήσαι 178 κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιήσαι τούτους κυρίους μετά των στρατηγών και του πότε δεί βαδίζειν έκεισε και της έξόδου. έπειδαν δ' έλθωσιν οι πρέσβεις είς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. · μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, έαν κελεύωσιν, ως έκείνων όντων έν τοις έσχάτοις, ήμων δὲ ἄμεινον ἡ κείνοι προορωμένων, ιν' έαν μεν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθώσιν ήμιν, και α βουλόμεθα ώμεν διωκημένοι και μετα προσχήματος άξίου της πόλεως ταθτα πράξωμεν, έὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῆ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν έαυτοις έγκαλωσιν, αν τι νυν έξαμαρτάνωσιν, ήμιν δε μηδεν αίσχρον μηδε ταπεινον ή πεπραγμένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπων 179 κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δε πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, ούκ έγραψα δέ, οὐδ' έγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα



δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῆ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

Το Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὅν ἄν σὰ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἤρωα τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἡ Κρέοντα ἡ ὅν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὧν ἐφάνην τῆ πατρίδι. σὰ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἡσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΗΕΝΟΥΣ.

181 [Επὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰωντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἔκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς "Ελλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ᾿Αθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προ-

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

άγει τῆ τε βία καὶ τῆ ὑμότητι καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ας 182 μέν έμφρούρους ποιεί και τας πολιτείας καταλύει, τινάς δε και έξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, είς ένίας δε καὶ άντὶ Έλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει έπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάχων, οὐδὲν άλλότριον ποιών οὖτε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὖτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῆ νῦν αὑτῷ παρούση τύχη κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος έαυτοῦ ότι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ έως μεν πόλεις έώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ 183 ίδιας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον είναι ὁ δημος ὁ ᾿Αθηναίων τὸ είς αύτον πλημμελείσθαι · νύν δε όρων Έλληνίδας πόλεις τας μεν ύβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον της των προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιοράν τοὺς Έλληνας καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ᾿Αθη- 184 ναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἢρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι την πόλιν καὶ την χώραν την Αθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας της των προγόνων άρετης, διότι περί πλείονος εποιούντο την των Έλλήνων ελευθερίαν διατηρείν ή την ιδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναθς καθέλκειν είς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναθαρχον ἀναπλεῖν έντὸς Πυλών, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἔππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ελληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους δια τὸ ἐγγυτάτω είναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλείν δε αὐτοὺς μηδεν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέ 135 χεσθαι της έαυτων καὶ της των άλλων Ελλήνων έλευθερίας, καὶ ότι ὁ Αθηναίων δήμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἶ τι πρότερον γέγονεν άλλότριον ταις πόλεσι πρὸς άλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητείν περί της ήγεμονίας ούσιν Ελλησι καλόν. ύπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερείσθαι ανάξιον είναι καὶ της των Ελλήνων δόξης καὶ της των προγόνων άρετης. έτι δε οὐδε άλλότριον ήγείται είναι ὁ 186 'Αθηναίων δήμος τὸν Θηβαίων δήμον οὔτε τἢ συγγενεία οὔτε τῷ



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

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δμοφύλω. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας καιὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παίδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἔτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν 187 ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ ᾿Αθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἦλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης ᾿Αντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

188 Αὖτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε

^{141. &#}x27;Ο δ' εἰσάγων ἢν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περί γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε, πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμοῦντος ὑμῦν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιρούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βουλεύεσθαι, 142. ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγαπῶν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν ᾿Αθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα,

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τῆ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὧσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ 189 ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν · ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τἢ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ · ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ ἔδει λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῆ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἢν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ και-190 ρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων · ἐγὰ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἄν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον,

ωσπερ είωθεν, ώς τους Βοιωτούς έργφ κακώς πάσχοντας την τών ονομάτων σύνθεσιν των Δημοσθένους άγαπήσοντας, άλλ' οὐ μάλλον έφ' οις κακώς πεπόνθεσαν άγανακτήσοντας 143. δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οίς ήσαν απωτέρω οι κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκών εφ' εκάστοις τούτων, καὶ την ηγεμονίαν την μεν κατά θάλατταν εποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατά γην, εί μη δεί ληρείν, αρδην φέρων ανέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ωστε παρά τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ήμέτερον στρατηγόν βουλεύσασθαι περί τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. 144. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἔτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, άλλὰ κάγὼ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ σὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. ἐκείνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην συνείθισθε ήδη τάδικήματα τὰ τούτου ἀκούειν, ώστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. δεί δε ούχ ούτως, άλλ' άγανακτείν και τιμωρείσθαι, εί χρή τὰ λοιπὰ τῆ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

η όλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνην πλην ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, άδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, δ συνήνεγκεν αν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ φημι δείν έμε μη λαθείν. εί δε μήτ' έστι μήτε ην μήτ' αν είπειν έχοι μηδείς μηδέπω και τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον έχρην ποιείν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ενόντων τὰ κράτιστα ελέσθαι; 191 τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;" οὐ "τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων," οὐδὲ "τίς έγγυασθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι." σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' έκείνους τοὺς χρόνους έν ταις έκκλησίαις καθημένου έγω παριών έλεγον. έπειδη δ' οὐ τότε, άλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπὲ τίς ἡ λόγος, ὅντιν' έχρην ευπορείν, ή καιρός συμφέρων υπ' έμου παρελείφθη τη πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πράξις, ἐφ' ἣν μάλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί; 192 'Αλλά μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν άφείται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν · τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἡ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ήμελλεν, ώς έδόκει, των δεινων, τὰ δ' ήδη παρήν, έν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μη τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ώς αν ὁ δαίμων βουληθη, πάντων γίγνεται ή δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν ίος δηλοί. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ

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κρατήσαι συνέβη Φιλίππω τή μάχη · ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεώ τὸ τούτου τέλος ήν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ώς οὐχ άπαντα όσα ένην κατ' άνθρώπινον λογισμόν είλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ύπερ δύναμιν, ή ώς οὐ καλά καὶ τῆς πόλεως άξια πράγματα ένεστησάμην καὶ άναγκαία, ταῦτά μοι δείξον, καὶ τότ' ήδη κατηγόρει μου. εί δ' ὁ συμβας σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν 194 άλλα καὶ πάντων των άλλων Ελλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρη ποιείν; ωσπερ αν εί τις ναύκληρον πάντ' έπὶ σωτηρία πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοιον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, είτα χειμώνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἡ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὖτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἄν, ὧσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὖτε της τύχης κύριος ην, άλλ' έκείνη των πάντων. άλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα · εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων 195 ήμιν αγωνιζομένοις ουτως είμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρην προσδοκάν, εί μηδε τούτους έσχομεν συμμάχους άλλὰ Φιλίππω προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὖ τότ' έκεινος πάσας άφηκε φωνάς; και εί νυν τριών ήμερων ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσούτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἶ που τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μα στηναι, συνελθείν, αναπνεύσαι, πολλά μία



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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΤΣ care

ήμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆ πόλει, τότε δ', — οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἄ γε
μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοία καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ῆς
σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

Εστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,

ανδρες δικασταί, και τους περιεστηκότας έξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχύς καὶ σαφής έξήρκει λόγος. μέν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνω των άλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' έδει προλέγειν. εί δε μη προήδεις, της αὐτης άγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὧστε τί μαλλον έμου συ ταυτα κατηγορείς ή έγω σου; 197 τοσούτον γάρ ἀμείνων έγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα είς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὖπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), όσον έγω μεν έδωκα έμαυτον είς τά πασι δοκουντα συμφέρειν, ουδένα κίνδυνον όκνήσας ίδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὖθ' ἔτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἃν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὖτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, οπερ δ' αν ο φαυλότατος και δυσμενέστατος ανθρωπος τη πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκώς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβασιν έξήτασαι, καὶ αμα Αρίστρατος έν Νάξφ καὶ ᾿Αριστόλεως ἐν Θάσφ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ της πόλεως, τους 'Αθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ ᾿Αθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεί.

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καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδο-198 κιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὖτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἡ κατηγορεῖν ἐτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὖνουν εἶναι τῆ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύη καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύη. πράττεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Λἰσχίνης. ἀντέ-- κρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Λἰσχίνης, ὤσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβη, τότε κινεῖται.

Έπειδη δε πολύς τοις συμβεβηκόσιν έγκειται, 199 βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάση, άλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὁ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν απασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προύλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ 4. διεμαρτύρου βοων καὶ κεκραγώς, ος οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, ούδ' ούτως αποστατέον τη πόλει τούτων ήν, εί περ η δόξης η προγόνων η του μέλλοντος αιώνος είχε λόγον. νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμά- 200 των, δ πασι κοινόν έστιν ανθρώποις, όταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκή · τότε δ' άξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν άλλων, εἶτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππω προδεδωκέναι πάντας αν έσχεν αιτίαν. ει γαρ ταθτα _προείτο ακονιτί, περί ων οὐδένα κίνδυνον οντιν' (οψε ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν

αν σοῦ ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ.
201 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἄν τοὺς εἰς την πόλιν ανθρώπους αφικνουμένους, εί τα μέν πράγματ' είς όπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ήγεμων δε καὶ κύριος ήρέθη Φίλιππος απάντων, τον δ' ύπερ τοῦ μη γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἔτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ήσαν πεποιημένοι, και ταθτα μηδεπώποτε τής πόλεως εν τοις εμπροσθε χρόνοις ασφάλειαν άδοξον μαλλον ή τον ύπερ των καλων κίνδυνον 202 ήρημένης; τίς γαρ οὐκ οίδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ότι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλής χάριτος τοῦτ' αν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῆ πόλει, ο τι βούλεται λαβούση καὶ τὰ ξαυτής έχούση τὸ κελευόμενον ποιείν καὶ έαν έτερον τῶν 203 Έλλήνων προεστάναι; άλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς **ἔ**οικε, τοῖς τότε 'Αθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ήδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μέν μη δίκαια δέ πράττουσι προσθεμένην άσφαλως δουλεύειν, άλλ' άγωνιζομένη περί πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα 204 τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. καὶ ταῦθ' οὖτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' είναι, ώστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως ·

τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων της άρετης, οι και την χώραν και την πόλιν έκλιπείν ὑπέμειναν είς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιήσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγον έλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αί γυναῖκες αί ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότ' Αθηναίοι 205 οὖτε ρήτορα οὖτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν, άλλ' οὐδε ζην ήξίουν, εί μη μετ' έλευθερίας \ έξέσται τοῦτο ποιείν. ἡγείτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῆ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, άλλα και τη πατρίδι. διαφέρει δε τί; ὅτι ὁ μεν τοις γονεύσι μόνον γεγενήσθαι νομίζων τὸν τής είμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ό δὲ καὶ τῆ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν αποθνήσκειν έθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ήγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς έν δουλευούση τη πόλει φέρειν ανάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ 206 προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὄστις οὐκ ἄν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας

της έφ' έκάστοις των πεπραγμένων καὶ έμαυτώ 207 μετειναί φημι, ούτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ύμας έμοι πικρώς έχειν ώς φόβων και κινδύνων αἰτίω τῆ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμής έμε ἀποστερήσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εί γὰρ ώς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα έμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῆ
 ΄ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. 208 άλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας των προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαίς παραταξαμένους και τους έν Σαλαμινι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ᾿Αρτεμισίω καὶ πολλούς έτέρους τούς έν τοίς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους άγαθούς ἄνδρας, οθς ἄπαντας ὁμοίως

(Lazi)

^{181. &}quot;Οτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμῶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. πότερον ὑμῶν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγήσας, ὅτ' ἐν τῆ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικᾶτε, ἡ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἡ οὖτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; 'Αριστείδης δ' ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιου ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει; 182. ἀλλ ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς 'Ολυμπίσυς οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, εἴ που γέγραπταί τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στεφανῶσαι. ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; οὔκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλύφρων, κἀκεῖνοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι

ή πόλις της αὐτης άξιώσασα τιμης έθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως · ὁ μὲν γὰρ ην ανδρων αγαθων έργον, απασι πέπρακται, τη τύχη δ', ην ο δαίμων ένειμεν έκάστοις, ταύτη κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὧ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύ- 209 φων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας έμ' ἀποστερησαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδείτο ὁ παρών ἀγών ούτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὧ τριταγωνιστά, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῆ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν έπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια έρουντος; δικαίως μέντ αν απέθανον έπει 210 οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἀνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεί τάς τε ίδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, άλλα τα μεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια έπὶ τῶν ιδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων άξιώματα άποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε

της πόλεως ἄξιοι · οὐ γὰρ ῷοντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ ἐν τῆ μνήμη τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὖσα διαμένει. δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον; ὧν ἄξιών ἐστι μνησθῆναι. 259. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ οἴεσθε στενάξειν, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν στεφανωθήσεται;

ἄμα τἢ βακτηρία καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τἢς πόλεως νομίζειν ἔκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

211 'Αλλά γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέ-βην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.
'Ως γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβά-

νομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβω, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψα
212 μεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολῆ συκοφαντίας οὖτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πρα-

^{137. &#}x27;Αλλ' οἶμαι, οὖτε Φρυνώνδας οὖτε Εἰρύβατος οὖτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὄς, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τἀληθῆ, τολμᾳ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμιν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας.

χθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς αν ἀμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ ἡ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

'Επειδή τοίνυν έποιήσαντο την έκκλησίαν, 213 προσήγον έκείνους προτέρους δια το την των συμμάχων τάξιν εκείνους έχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες έδημηγόρουν πολλά μεν Φίλιππον έγκωμιάζοντες, πολλά δ' ύμων κατηγορούντες, πάνθ' όσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδουναι, ων δ' υφ' υμων ηδίκηντο δίκην λαβείν, όποτέρως βούλονται, ή διέντας αύτους έφ' ύμας ή συνεμβαλόντας είς την 'Αττικήν, καὶ έδείκνυσαν, ως ώουτο, έκ μεν ων αυτοί συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τάλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ηξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ων ήμας έρειν έφασαν τὰ έν τῆ Βοιωτία διαρπασθησόμενα ύπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ήμεις πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἔκαστα 214 έγω μεν άντι παντός αν τιμησαίμην είπειν τοῦ βίου, ύμας δε δέδοικα, μη παρεληλυθότων των



καιρών, ὧσπερ αν εί καὶ κατακλυσμον γεγενησθαι τών πραγμάτων ήγούμενοι, μάταιον όχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε δίτι δο οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετά ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. έξητε, έβοηθειτε, ίνα τάν μέσφ παραλείπω, οὖτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω των όπλιτων και των ίππέων όντων είς τας οικίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παίδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν έκείνη τη ήμέρα πασιν ανθρώποις έδειξαν έγκώμια Θηβαίοι καθ' ύμων τὰ κάλλιστα, εν μεν άνδρίας, έτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ή πρὸς ὑμᾶς έλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους είναι καὶ δικαιότερ' άξιοῦν ύμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου · καὶ τὰ παρ' αύτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν **σ**λείστη φυλακή, παίδας καὶ γυναίκας, ἐφ' ὑμίν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοννος 216 τες έδειξαν. Εν οίς πασιν, ανδρες Αθηναίοι, κατά γ' ύμας ὀρθως ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὖτε γὰρ εἰς την πόλιν είσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς ούδεν ούδε άδίκως ύμιν ενεκάλεσεν ούτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε ύμας αὐτούς · δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς. αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῶ κόσμω, ταις παρασκευαις, τη προθυμία. έφ' οίς παρά μεν των άλλων ύμιν εγίγνοντο έπαινοι, παρά δ' ύμων θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε 217 ήδέως αν εροίμην Αισχίνην, ότε ταῦτ' επράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοίς, ή λυπούμενος και στένων και δυσμεναίνων τοις κοινοίς άγαθοις οίκοι καθήτο. γαρ παρην και μετα των άλλων έξητάζετο, πως οὐ δεινὰ ποιεί, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὄσια, εἰ ὧν ώς άρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς όμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πως οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οίς έχαιρον οἱ άλλοι, ταῦτα έλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν; Λέγε δη καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἡμεν τότε, Θη-218 βαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὖτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἴας τότ' ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἴαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τού-

τοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἴν' εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὖτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

σματα, α νυν ουτος οιεσυρε, τι απειργασατο.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, ᾿Αριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἔτεροι μυρίοι · ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῆ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἄν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ᾶν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἄμα μὲν ῥᾳστώ
220 νην, ἄμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμη καὶ τόλμη ὧστε πάντα πομβαὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὖτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὧστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι

221 ραλείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναὶσθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἃν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν πα-

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222 Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῆ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὰ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

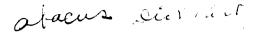
Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Λθηναῖοι, τὰς 223 αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἄπερ πρότερον μὲν 'Αριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὐτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὕτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν 'Υπερείδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἄν εἰκότως ἡ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε 224 μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταὐτὰ γραψάντων ἄπερ οῦτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἐᾶν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ᾶν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡν οἰμαι τότε δ νυνὶ 225



ποιείν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προήδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἀν ψήθη τήμερον ῥηθηναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν θείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἀν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἤκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὧς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῆ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

227 Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ῆς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἦκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι,

^{59.} Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσαι θε ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν · ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὰν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεῖς ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ᾶν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῆ. 60. Οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὔτω διάκειται, μήτ ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούση · οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον.



ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

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ωσπερ δ', όταν οιόμενοι περιείναι χρήματά τω λογίζησθε, αν καθαιρώσιν αι ψήφοι και μηδέν περιή, συγχωρείτε, ούτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ώς σαθρόν, ώς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι αν μη δικαίως ή πεπραγμένον. Εκ γαρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ 228 σοφού τούτου παραδείγματος ώμολόγηκε νυν γ' ήμας υπάρχειν έγνωσμένους έμε μεν λέγειν υπέρ της πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου · οὐ γὰρ αν μεταπείθειν ύμας εζήτει μη τοιαύτης ούσης της ύπαργούσης ύπολήψεως περί έκατέρου. μην ότι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην την δόξαν άξιων, έγω διδάξω ραδίως, ου τιθείς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ έστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὖτος λογισμός) άλλ' άναμιμνήσκων έκαστα έν βραχέσι, λογισταις άμα και μάρτυσι τοις άκούουσιν ύμιν χρώμενος. ή γαρ έμη πολιτεία, ης ούτος κατηγορεί, άντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλείν είς την χώραν, δ πάντες ῷοντο, μεθ' 230 ήμων παραταξαμένους έκεινον κωλύειν έποίησεν. αντί δε τοῦ ἐν τῆ ᾿Αττικῆ τὸν πόλεμον είναι έπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ορίοις γενέσθαι, αντί δε του τους ληστάς ήμας φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνη τὴν Αττικήν έκ θαλάττης είναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, αντί δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμείν τους Βυζαντίους side with



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231 μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἄρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἡ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὡμότητος, ἡν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἡν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ρήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἄν οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ρήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρậς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ρῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν 233 χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἄν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἡ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσήειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῆ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰδίκημ' ἄν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μεί-

ζους, οὐκ αν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο

Cf. Æsch. §§ 166 and 167, cited on page 58.

πέφευγας, έγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μεν τοίνυν είχεν ή πόλις τους νησιώ- 234 τας, ούχ ἄπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους · ούτε γὰρ Χίος ούτε 'Ρόδος ούτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ήμων ἢν χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ 🛶 τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα · όπλίτην δ', ίππέα πλην των οἰκείων οὐδένα. δ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ύπερ των έχθρων, ούτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τούς περιχώρους πάντας έχθρας ή φιλίας έγγυτέρω, Μεγαρείς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πό-235 λεως οὖτως ὑπηρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς αν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ον ἦν ἡμιν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρώτον μεν ήρχε των ακολουθούντων αυτός αυτοκράτωρ, δ των είς τον πόλεμον μέγιστόν έστιν ΄ άπάντων · εἶθ' οὖτοι τὰ οὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί · ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν å δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν. οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὧν οὐδενί, άλλ' άπλως αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος 236 (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἢν; οὐδενός αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορείν πρῶτον, οὖ μόνου μετείχον έγώ, έξ ἴσου προὐτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς

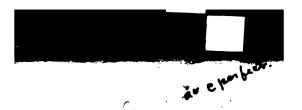
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τοις παρ' εκείνου μισθαρνούσι και έμοι, και όσα οδτοι περιγένοιντο έμου (πολλά δ' εγίγνετο ταυτα, δι' ην έκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταθθ' ύπέρ 237 των έχθρων απητε βεβουλευμένοι. άλλ' όμως έκ τοιούτων έλαττωμάτων έγω συμμάχους μέν ύμιν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, 'Αχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, άφ' ων μύριοι μέν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι . δ' ίππεις άνευ των πολιτικών δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν χρημάτων δέ, δσων ήδυνήθην έγώ, πλεί-238 στην συντέλειαν έποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἡ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἡ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ή τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ή περὶ τῶν ἴσων υυνί διαλέγη, πρώτον μέν άγνοεις ότι και πρότερον των ύπερ των Ελλήνων εκείνων αγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν. τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ έλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις έωρατο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ελλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων . 239 σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζη χάριτας τουτοισί συκοφαντών έμέ. τί γάρ νῦν λέγεις οἶα έχρην πράττειν, άλλ' οὐ τότ' ὧν ἐν τῆ πόλει καὶ παρών ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, έν οξς ούχ όσα ήβουλόμεθα



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άλλ' όσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' έδει δέχεσθαι; ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

Ju

'Αλλ' εί νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας 240 -[. έχω, τί αν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' έμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριγνη βολογουμένου απηλθον αι πόλεις και προσέθεντο Φιλίππω, καὶ ἄμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν αν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ΄ ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθη-241 σαν, ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; είτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατης καθέστηκε, καὶ της σιτοπομπίας της των Ελλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' όμορος καὶ βαρὺς είς την 'Αττικήν δια Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, απλους δ' ή θάλαττα ύπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων ληστών γέγονεν; οὐκ αν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις έτερα; πονηρόν, ὧ ἄνδρες 242 'Αθηναίοι, πονηρον ο συκοφάντης αει και πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τανθρώπιον έστιν, οὐδεν έξ άρχης. ύγιες πεποιηκός οὐδ' έλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικός πίθηκος, ἀρουραίος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ρήτωρ. τί γὰρ ή σὴ δεινότης είς ὄνησιν ήκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὤσπερ 243 αν εί τις ιατρός ασθενούσι μέν τοις κάμνουσιν είσιων μη λέγοι μηδε δεικνύοι δι' ων αποφεύξον-

A 30 25.



is adverb = where

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ται την νόσον, ἐπειδη δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα διεξίοι " εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὐτοσί, οὐκ ᾶν ἀπέθανεν." ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν, εἰ ταύτη γαυριᾶς έφ'. ή στένειν σε, ὧ κατάρατε, προσηκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εύρήσετε τη πόλει. ούτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτής ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς απηλθον των παρά Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ ᾿Αμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, ού παρά των Θρακων βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαν-, τίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα έκ Θηβων, άλλ' έν οίς κρατηθείεν οι πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῶ λόγω, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατε-αίσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν είς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ της Φιλίππου δυνάμεως άξιων ένα όντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ άλλου κύριος ην έγώ; οὐ γὰρ της γε έκάστου

^{225.} Έπειτα ἐπερωτῶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἃν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρός, ὄστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιὴς ἃν ἐγένετο. 226. σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτῶς, τίς ἃν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος, ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀποδοῦτο.

Bracolifé Osmathener. Marmalu 9 ardiner.

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ψυχης, οὐδὲ της τύχης των παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ της στρατηγίας, ης έμ' απαιτείς εύθύνας ουτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἄν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος 246 είη, πασαν εξέτασιν λαμβάνετε · οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα; ιδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας ὄκνους άγνοίας φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταις πόλεσι πρόσεστιν άπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαια άμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τοῦναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιείν όρμην προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μή ποθ' εὖρη κατ' έμε οὐδεν ελλειφθέν. εὶ τοίνυν τις έροιτο όντι-247 νοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διωκήσατο, πάντες αν είποιεν τω στρατοπέδω καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὖτε κύριος οὖθ' ήγεμων ήν έγω, ωστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος των κατά ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ή μή κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου · ὧσπερ

^{152.} ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. 155. ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὕτος ἀνήρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τὸν κάκιστον καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. 159. ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.



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γὰρ ὁ ἀνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὖτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ἀνούμενον. ἄστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ ἐμέ.

Α μέν τοίνυν έγω παρεσχόμην είς το δικαίως τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς έτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ δ' οι πάντες ύμεις, ταῦτ' ήδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ την μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δημος, εἰδὼς καὶ έωρακὼς πάντα όσα έπραττον έγώ, έν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς έμβεβηκώς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστον ήν τους πολλους προς έμέ, πρώτον μέν περί σωτηρίας της πόλεως τας έμας γνώμας έχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' όσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα έπράττετο, ή διάταξις των φυλάκων, αι τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων εγίγνετο · επειθ' αιρούμενος σιτώνην εκ πάν-249 των έμε έχειροτόνησεν ο δήμος. καὶ μετά ταῦτα συστάντων οίς ην έπιμελές κακώς έμε ποιείν, καὶ γραφάς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' έαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ων μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ότι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατά την ημέραν έκάστην έκρινόμην έγώ, καί οὖτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὖτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὖτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὖτ' άλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἢν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πασι μάλιστα μέν δια τους θεούς. δεύτερον δε δι' ύμας και τους άλλους 'Αθηναίους έσωζόμην. δικαίως τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστών. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἶς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' 250 ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' έψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστά με πράττειν : ἐν οἶς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, έννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην. έν οξς δε τας ευθύνας επεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ άδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπραχθαί μοι προσωμολογείτε. τούτων οὖν οὖτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκον ἡ τί δίκαιον ήν τοις ύπ' έμου πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφωντα ὄνομα, οὐχ δ τὸν δημον ξώρα τιθέμενον, ούχ δ τους δμωμοκότας δικαστάς, ούχ ο την αλήθειαν παρά πασι βεβαιούσαν;

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ 251 μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νὴ Δί' εὖδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἔξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἄν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦ-

^{194.} Ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι ᾿Αριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ᾿Αζηνιεὺς λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὖτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφῶς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς, οἶμαι, σεμνυνόμενος.

τον, ἄνδρες 'Λθηναίοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι · οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὧστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὡμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πανταχόθεν μεν τοίνυν αν τις ίδοι την άγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δ' άφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μέν, όστις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπω τύχην προφέρει, ανόητον ήγουμαι · ην γαρ ο βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν, εί μενεί τοιαύτη μέχρι της έσπέρας, πως χρη περί ταύτης λέγειν ή πως ονειδίζειν έτέρω; έπειδη δ' ούτος προς πολλοίς άλλοις και περι τούτων ύπερηφάνως χρήται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε όσφ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης 253 τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. έγω την της πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι των πάντων άνθρώπων, η νυν έπέχει, χαλεπην και δεινήν τίς γὰρ Ελλήνων ή τίς βαρβάρων οὐ 254 πολλών κακών έν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται; τὸ μέν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οιηθέντων Ελλήνων, εί πρόοιντο ήμας, έν εὐδαιμονία διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθης τύχης της πόλεως είναι τίθημι το δε προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἠβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν



συμβηναι της των ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμῶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν 255 ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτωσὶ περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν · ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἔμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης.

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἔξετά-256 ζειν, Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, καν εὐρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῆ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὖτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὖτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται · ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς αν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Έμοι μέν τοίνυν ύπηρξεν, Αισχίνη, παιδι τὰ 257 προσήκοντα διδασκαλεία, και ἔχειν ὅσα χρη τὸν μηδεν αισχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγείν, τριηραρχείν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας

μήτε ίδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, άλλὰ καὶ τη πόλει και τοις φίλοις χρήσιμον είναι, έπειδή δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα έλέσθαι ώστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλών πολλάκις έστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἃ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. 258 έγω μεν δη τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' αν έχων έτερ' είπειν περί αὐτης παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσαί τινα έν οίς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνηρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς άλλους σκόπει πρός ταύτην ποία τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ην παις μέν ων μετά πολλης ένδείας έτράφης, ἄμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείψ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγείον κορῶν, οἰκέτου 259 τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τη μητρί τελούση τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τάλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, την μέν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῶ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων . λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον," ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ολολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος 260 (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω · μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μέν οὖτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), έν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους

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άγων δια των όδων, τους έστεφανωμένους τω μαράθω καὶ τῆ λεύκη, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοι σαβοι, και ἐπορχούμενος ἔης ἄττης ἄττης ύης, έξαρχος καὶ προηγεμών καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαθτα ύπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσα-? γορευόμενος, μισθον λαμβάνων τούτων ένθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτούς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἶς τίς οὐκ αν ώς άληθως αύτον εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αύτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσ- 261 δήποτε, έω γαρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδή γ' ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον έξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ύπηρετείν τοίς άρχιδίοις. ώς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορείς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίω, άλλα μισθώσας σαυτον τοις βαρυστόνοις 262 έπικαλουμένοις έκείνοις ύποκριταίς, Σιμύλω καὶ Σωκράτει, ετριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ έλάας συλλέγων ώσπερ όπωρώνης έκ των άλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἡ των αγώνων, ους ύμεις περί της ψυχης ήγωνίζεσθε · ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' είληφως είκότως τους απείρους των τοιούτων κινδύνων ώς δειλούς σκώπτεις. άλλα γαρ πα- 263 🕇 ρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ



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τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἢν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἤτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, 264 θρασὺς ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὧψαι. καίτοι ὄστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οῦτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω. (οὐ γὰρ ὄσ' ἀν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῷ δ· καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

265 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἃν ἔλοιθ' ἔκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' 266 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῶ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, μοι δολείς δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος

τῶν ψήφων. ἀχαθη γε, οὐχ ὁρᾳς; τύχη συμ- \ \ \ βεβιωκὼς της ἐμης κατηγορείς.

Φέρε δε καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, 267 ὧν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

ήκω νεκρών κευθμώνα καὶ σκότου πύλας λ েয় ৻৽ Υ

καὶ

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κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὖτοι πάντες ἀπ<u>ολέσ</u>ειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

MAPTYPIAI.

Έν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος · 268 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν εἶποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὔτως πως ὑπείληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εῷ παθόντα 269 δεῶν μεμνῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ

δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ έχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν άνθρώπων όστις άθώος της Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς ᾿Αλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἡ 271 των Έλλήνων ή των βαρβάρων, έστω, συγχωρώ σοι την έμην είτε τύχην είτε δυστυχίαν όνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αιτίαν γεγενήσθαι. εί δέ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ιδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν άκηκοότων έμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσω δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν άπάντων, ώς ξοικεν, άνθρώπων τύχην κοινήν καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπήν καὶ οὐχ οΐαν 272 έδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι; σὰ τοίνυν ταῦτ' άφεις έμε τον παρά τουτοισί πεπολιτευμένον αίτια, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδώς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἄπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εί μεν γαρ έγω κατ' έμαυτον αύτοκράτωρ περί των πραγμάτων έβουλευόμην, ήν αν 273 τοις άλλοις ρήτορσιν ύμιν έμε αιτιασθαι εί δε παρητε μέν έν ταις έκκλησίαις άπάσαις, άει δ' έν κοινώ τὸ συμφέρον ή πόλις προὐτίθει σκοπείν, πασι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλι-

στα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοία γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις έλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοις τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ήττωμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν (είπειν βέλτιον), πως ούκ άδικεις και δεινά ποιεις τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρά μέν τοίνυν τοις άλλοις έγως όρω 274 πασιν ανθρώποις διωρισμένα και τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκών; ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατά τούτου. έξήμαρτέ τις άκων; συγγνώμην αντί της τιμωρίας τούτω. οὖτ' αδικων τις οὖτ' έξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν έαυτον δούς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' άπάντων; ούκ ονειδίζειν οὐδε λοιδορείσθαι τῷ τοιούτω δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα 275 πάντα οὖτως οὖ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ανθρωπίνοις ήθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὼμότητι καὶ συκοφαντία ώστε καὶ ων αὐτὸς ως άτυχημάτων έμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' έμοῦ κατηγορεί.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἁπλῶς καὶ 276 μετ εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάτ- ξ τειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου



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καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὖτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός έστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. έγω δ' οίδ' ότι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον απαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτω μαλλον ἡ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε 277 ταῦτα προσείναι. κάκεῖνο εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα — έστω γάρ. καίτοι έγωγ' όρω της των λεγόντων δυνάμεως τους ακούοντας το πλείστον κυρίους · ώς γὰρ ᾶν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ 53 πρὸς ἔκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὔτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε ঠን? φρονείν. εί δ' οὖν έστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μεν ευρήσετε πάντες εν τοις κοινοις έξεταζομένην ύπερ ύμων άει και οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδία, τὴν δὲ τούτου τουναντίον ου μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, άλλα και εί τις ελύπησε τι τοῦτον ή προσέκρουσε που, κατά τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῆ δικαίως, οὐδ' 278 έφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῆ πόλει, χρῆται. οὖτε γὰρ τὴν όργην οὖτε την ἔχθραν οὖτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ των κοινων είσεληλυθότας δικαστάς άξιουν αυτώ βεβαιούν, ούδ' ύπερ τούτων είς ύμας είσιέναι, άλλα μάλιστα μέν μη έχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῆ φύσει, εὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν έχειν. έν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ρήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἶς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῆ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἶς πρὸς τοὺς έναντίους έστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, έν τούτοις ταῦτα γὰρ

γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδι-279 κήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δε μηδ' ίδιου, δίκην άξιώσαντα λαβείν παρ' έμου μήθ' ύπερ της πόλεως μήθ' ύπερ αύτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ έπαίνου κατηγορίαν ήκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ανηλωκέναι ίδίας έχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας έστὶ σημείον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν άγωνας εάσαντα νυν επί τόνδ' ήκειν και πάσαν έχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκείς έκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, 280 λόγων επίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ άδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβείν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' ούχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ρήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος της φωνής, άλλα το ταυτά προαιρείσθαι τοις πολλοις και τὸ τους αυτους μισείν και φιλείν οὖσπερ αν ή πατρίς. ό γαρ οὖτως ἔχων τὴν 281 ψυχήν, οὖτος ἐπ' εὐνοία πάντ' ἐρεῖ · ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ή πόλις προοραταί τινα κίνδυνον ξαυτή, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὖκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσαλλ', ὁρᾶς; ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ συμφέρονθ' είλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; 282 δς εὐθέως μετά τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ος ην των έν έκείνοις τοις χρόνοις συμφορών αίτιος τη πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνού-

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μενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ως πάντες ίσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν έξαπατών; ούχ ὁ μὴ λέγων α φρονεί; τώ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτω; τί δὲ μείζον έχοι τις αν είπειν αδίκημα κατ' ανδρὸς ρήτορος ή εἰ μη ταὐτὰ φρονεί καὶ λέγει; 283 σὺ τοίνυν οὖτος εὐρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγη καὶ βλέπειν είς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμάς; πότερ ούχ ήγει γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς όστις εί; ἡ τοσοῦτον υπνον καὶ λήθην απαντας έχειν ωστ' οὐ μεμνησθαι τοὺς λόγους ους έδημηγόρεις έν τώ είναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππω πράγμα, άλλ' έμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ιδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας, 284 οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ή μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ώμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρός αὐτόν, τῆ μισθαρνία ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα · ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἡ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνη τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ή φίλος ή γνώριμος ήν Φίλιππος; έγω μεν ούχ όρω, άλλ' έμισθώθης έπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. άλλ' δμως ούτω φανερώς αὐτὸς είλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατά σαυτού μηνυτής έπι τοις συμβάσι γεγονως έμοι λοιδορεί και όνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μαλλον αιτίους ευρήσεις.

Intime of or after". 2

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

Πολλά καὶ καλά καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 285 καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' έμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ημνημόνησεν. σημείον δέ χειροτονών γαρ δ δημος τον έρουντ' έπι τοις τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὖφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα την είρηνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' άλλον ύμων οὐδένα, άλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ώμως καὶ ἀναιδως, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων έμοῦ ταὐτὰ α καὶ σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον έχειροτόνησεν έμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως 286 αμφότερ' ήδεσαν αὐτοί, δὲ φράσω σοι κάγώ. τήν τ' έμην εύνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ής τὰ πράγματ' έπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν: α γαρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ήρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταθτ' έν οίς έπταισεν ή πόλις ώμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ων έφρόνουν λαβόντας άδειαν έχθρους μέν πάλαι, φανερούς δε τόθ' ήγήσαντο αύτοις γεγενήσθαι. είτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' 287 έπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' όμωρόφιον μήθ' όμόσπονδον γεγενημένον είναι τοις πρός εκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' έκει μέν κωμάζειν και παιωνίζειν έπὶ ταις των Ελλήνων συμφοραις μετά των αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι,

μηδε τη φωνή δακρύειν ύποκρινομένους έκείνων τύχην, άλλά τη ψυχή συναλγείν. τοῦτο δ' έώρων παρ' έαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' έμοί, παρὰ δ' ύμων ού. δια ταυτ' έμε έχειροτόνησαν και ούγ 288 ύμας. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δημος οὔτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ άδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αίρεθέντες έπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, άλλα δέον ποιείν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ώς παρ' οἰκειοτάτω τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὧσπερ τἆλλ' είωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως · γένει μέν γάρ εκαστος εκάστω μάλλον οἰκείος ἢν έμοῦ, κοινῆ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω. φ γαρ ἐκείνους σωθηναι καὶ κατορθώσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, ούτος καὶ παθόντων α μή ποτ' ώφελον της ύπερ άπάντων λύπης πλείστον μετείχεν.

289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὁ δημοσίᾳ προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἴν' εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ЕПІГРАММА.

Οΐδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εὶς δῆριν ἔθεντο ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν. μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς, ἀλλ' 'Αΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ, οὔνεκεν Έλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

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γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις · μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν , ἐν βιοτῆ, μοῖραν δ' οὕ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

'Ακούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ 290 μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὧ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;

Πολλά τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα 291 κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' έθαύμασα πάντων, ότε τῶν συμβεβηκότων Ο Γι τότε τη πόλει μνησθείς ούχ ώς αν εύνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης έσχε την γνώμην, οὐδ' έδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τη ψυχη, ἀλλ' έπάρας την φωνην καὶ γεγηθώς καὶ λαρυγγίζων φετο μεν εμού κατηγορείν δηλονότι, δείγμα δ' έξέφερε καθ' έαυτοῦ ότι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ανιαροίς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοίς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν 292 των νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ωσπερ ούτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδεν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' έχειν δεί, ταὐτὰ λυπείσθαι καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοις πολλοις, και μη τη προαιρέσει των κοινων έν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. δ σὰ νυνὶ πεποιηκώς εί φανερός, έμε πάντων αίτιον και δι'

ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως
293 ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἤναντιῶσθαι τῆ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆ πραττομένη, μείζων ἄν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἄν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἄν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἄν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οῦτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἄν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

294 'Αλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; δς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οῦτος οὐκ ἄν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οῖς ἄν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἄπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη 295 τῶν πόλεων εὖροιτ' ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί · οῖ ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῆ μικρά, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῆ συμφέροντα προΐεντο,

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τούς ύπάρχοντας έκαστοι πολίτας έξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, έως δούλους εποίησαν, Θετταλούς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, 'Αρκάδας Κερκιδας Ίερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, ᾿Αργείους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος ᾿Αρίσταιχμος, Μεσσηνίους οι Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς έγθρου παίδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Αρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρετος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ελιξος Περίλαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ανεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ίππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. έπιλείψει με λέγοντα ή ήμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν 296 ονόματα. ούτοι πάντες είσίν, ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, των αὐτων βουλευμάτων έν ταις αύτων πατρίσιν ὧνπερ οὖτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ξαυτῶν έκαστοι πατρίδας, την έλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μεν Φιλίππω νῦν δε 'Αλεξάνδρω, τη γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, την δ' έλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα έχειν δεσπότην αύτων, α τοις προτέροις Ελλησιν δροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὖτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοή- 297 του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες

^{236. &#}x27;Ηδέως δ' αν έγωγε, ω 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὁμολογησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὖεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν



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'Αθηναίοι, προδοσίας, εί δεί μη ληρείν, της τώς de Έλλήνων έλευθερίας, ή τε πόλις παρά πασυ ω θρώποις αναίτιος γέγονεν έκ των έμων πολιτω μάτων καὶ έγω παρ' ύμιν. εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀπὶ ποίας ἀρετής ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, ότι των πολιτευομένων παρά τοις Ελλησι δωφθαρέντων άπάντων, άρξαμένων άπὸ σοῦ, πρώ τερον μεν ύπο Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' ᾿Αλεξάνδρου. 298 έμε ούτε καιρός ούτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὐί έπαγγελιών μέγεθος οὖτ' έλπὶς οὖτε φόβος οὖτ' άλλο οὐδεν επήρεν οὐδε προηγάγετο ων εκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῆ πατρίδι οὐδεν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', όσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε του τοισί, όμοίως ύμιν ὤσπερ αν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λημμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθης καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δη πραγμάτων των κατ' έμαυτον άνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα ταῦτα ύγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευ-299 μαι. διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, δν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν άξια μεν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὖ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων

άρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλώς ετάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' εξεργασθήναι καλώς τὸ γεγενήσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν έχει · οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρη τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφας ανελόντα τον όρθως πεπολιτευμένον δωρεας αίτειν, άλλ' άγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τἢ πόλει.

Τέθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνΘοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ Φρονῶ ἀλλ' ἐἀν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλη δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἴππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. ταῦτα προὐ 300 βαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνω λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ᾽ ἡττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῆ τύχη. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρην τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῦν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301 πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν ψιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκ-302 πέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ᾽ ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ᾽ ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἦρυδον, τὴν Εὔβοιαν;

καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων

τας μεγίστας αφελείν, ων δ' ενέλειπε τη πόλει, ταῦτα προσθείναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἄπαντα πέπρακται τοις έμοις ψηφίσμασι και τοις έμοις 303 πολιτεύμασιν, α και βεβουλευμένα, ω ανδρες 'Αθηναίοι, έὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπείν, ὀρθως εύρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάση δικαιοσύνη, καὶ τὸν έκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ όσα είς ένὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ήκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαίμονός τινος ἡ τύχης ίσχὺς ή στρατηγών φαυλότης ή τών προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἡ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο τοις όλοις, έως ανέτρεψαν, τί Δημοσθένης αδικεί: 304 εί δ' οίος έγω παρ' ύμιν κατά την έμαυτου τάξιν.) είς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἔνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ ένα ἄνδρα Αρκαδία ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί, ούδεις ούτε των έξω Πυλων Έλλήνων ούτε των 305 εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ πάντες αν όντες έλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης άδείας άσφαλως έν εὐδαιμονία τὰς έαυτων ῷκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ᾿Αθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι᾽ ἐμέ. ίνα δ' είδητε ότι πολλώ τοις λόγοις έλάττοσι χρώμαι των έργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτί καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν κα- 306 λον κάγαθον πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις άναμφισβητήτως ύπηρχεν είναι καὶ τὸ 'δικαίως προσην, ώς έτέρως δε συμβάντων το γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδέ την προαίρεσιν αὐτης, άλλα την τύγην κακίζειν την ούτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, ού 307 μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῆ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αύτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ύπερ των έχθρων καιρούς άντι των της πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν έπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, έὰν δέ τις ιδία τι λυπήση, τοῦτο μεμνησθαι καὶ τηρείν, οὐδέ γ' ήσυχίαν άγειν άδικον καὶ υπουλον, ὁ σὰ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. έστι γάρ, έστιν ήσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα 308 τη πόλει, ην οί πολλοί των πολιτων ύμεις άπλως άγετε. άλλ' οὐ ταύτην οῦτος άγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξη

^{216. &#}x27;Αλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεί, ἴνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος 'Αλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. 217. καὶ νὴ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνο-

της πολιτείας (πολλάκις δε δοκεί) φυλάττει πηνίκ έσεσθε μεστοί τοῦ συνεχώς λέγοντος ή παρά τής τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν έναντίωμα ή άλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλά δὲ τάνθρώπινα) εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτω τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνευμ' έφάνη, και πεφωνασκηκώς και συνειλοχώς ρήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφως καὶ άπνευστί, όνησιν μέν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' άγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδενός, συμφοράν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι 309 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης της μελέτης καὶ της ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴ περ έκ ψυχής δικαίας έγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τής πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλούς καὶ πᾶσιν ὡφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, έμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοις 310 ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ άπάντων ήν έν τοις άνω χρόνοις έξέτασις, καί έδωκεν ὁ παρελθών χρόνος πολλάς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ

μαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτῶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυον οὐδ' ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιὼν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὖτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐζήλωκα, οὖτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὖτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἐμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὖτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἃν ζῆν.

τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἔκτος, οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, οὔκουν ἐπί γ' οἶς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. τίς 311 γαρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῆ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ή κτήσις εὐνοίας ή δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι ην η πόλις έντιμοτέρα; τί των οἰκείων ἡ των Ελληνικών καὶ ξενικων, οίς επέστης, επηνώρθωται; ποιαι τριήρεις; ποία βέλη; ποίοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχων; ποιον ίππικόν; τί των άπάντων σύ χρήσιμος εί; τίς ή τοις εὐπόροις ή τοις ἀπόροις πολιτική καὶ κοινή βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία. άλλ', ὧ τῶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὖνοιά γε καὶ προ- 312 θυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὄστις, ὧ πάντων άδικώτατε. ούδ' ότε απαντες, όσοι πώποτ' εφθέγξαντο επί τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταίον 'Αριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον είς τὴν έπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρηλθες οὖτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μέν των Φίλωνος του κηδεστου χρημάτων πλειόνων ή πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' είχες - \ ξρανου δωρεάν παρά των ήγεμόνων των συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἶς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. άλλ' ίνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος 313 έμαυτον έκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δηλον, άλλα φυλάττων το μηδέν έναντίον γενέσθαι παρά σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἄπαντα πολιτεύη. ἐν τίσιν οὖν

σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ ἄν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεκρίνης.

314 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὖνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλ-315 λειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἡ πλείων ἡ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῆ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς οὖτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὖτ᾽ ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταὐτά σοι προη-310 ρημένων καὶ ζώντων. κἀκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῆ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρό-

^{257. &}quot;Όταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῆ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὖ νῦν ἐστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν, σωφρόνως, ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, 258. 'Αριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Έλλησιν.

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τερον εὐεργεσίας, οὖσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν είποι τις αν ήλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας είς άχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμον άγειν, ή πασιν όσοι τι μετ' ευνοίας πράττουσι, της τούτων τιμης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετείναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ 317 πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, αν τις ὀρθώς σκοπή, ταις των τότ' επαινουμένων ανδρων όμοία καὶ ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ή δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τούς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων · δήλον γάρ ότι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες οἱ διασύροντες τους όντας τότε, τους δε πρότερον γεγενημένους έπήνουν, βάσκανον πραγμα καὶ ταὐτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ώς οὐδὲν ομοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 318 έγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; άλλος δέ τις των νῦν ρητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γαρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλα προς τους ζωντας, ὧ χρηστέ, ζνα μηδεν άλλ' είπω, τον ζωντα έξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὧσπερ τάλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμ- 319 μων ούχ ότι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καί τινων

^{189.} Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα · οὐδὲ γὰρ Φι-λάμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην 'Ολυμπίασι στεφανωθήναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετήν, ἦς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφανοῦνται.

έτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων αθλητών ασθυέ στερος ήν, αστεφάνωτος έκ της 'Ολυμπίας απήει, άλλ' ότι των είσελθόντων πρός αὐτὸν ἄριστα έμάχετο, έστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καί σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτόν, πρὸς οντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων οὐ 320 δένα εξίσταμαι. ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῆ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα έλέσθαι παρην, έφαμίλλου της είς την πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων έφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς έμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἄπαντα διωκείτο, ύμων δε ούδεις ήν ούδαμου, πλην εί τούτοις έπηρεάσαι τι δέοι · έπειδή δὲ ἃ μή ποτ' ώφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων άλλὰ των τοις επιταττομένοις ύπηρετούντων και των κατά της πατρίδος μισθαρνείν έτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν έτερον βουλομένων έξέτασις, τηνικαθτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἔκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἱπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, άλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

321 Δύο δ', ἄνδρες 'Λθηναίοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῆ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν · τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἔτερα. ταύτην

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τοίνυν παρ' έμοι μεμενηκυίαν εύρήσετε άπλως. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ ᾿Αμφικτυονικὰς 322 δρᾶτε δέ. δίκας έπαγόντων, οὐκ έπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ώσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὖνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ έξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν την όδον της πολιτείας είλόμην, τας τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὖξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ 323 καὶ γεγηθώς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οθς αν εκείσε απαγγελλειν οίωμαι, των δε της πόλεως άγαθων πεφρικώς άκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων είς την γην, ωσπερ οί δυσσεβείς οθτοι, οι την μέν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ώσπερ ούχ αύτους διασύροντες, όταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, έξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ έν οις ατυχησάντων των Ελλήνων εὐτύχησεν_έτερος, ταθτ' έπαινοθσι καὶ όπως τὸν ἄπαντα χρονον μενεί φασι δείν τηρείν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὧ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι- 324

^{260.} Έγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὧ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἢ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἰρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγόρηκα, εἶπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. Ύμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πύλεως ψηφίσασθε.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΈΝΟΥΣ

νεύσειεν, άλλα μάλιστα μέν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινα νοῦν καὶ φρένας ένθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μεν αὐτοὺς καθ' έαυτοὺς ἔξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττη ποιήσατε, ἡμῶν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

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NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Bekk	Bekker's Edition.
C	.Crosby's Grammar (Revised Edition).
cf	.Latin confer, i. e. compare, see.
Cu	. Curtius's Grammar.
Dind	. Dindorf's Edition.
Diss. or D	.Dissen's Edition.
Editt	. Editions or Editors.
fr	.from.
G M T	.Goodwin's Greek Moods and Tenses.
G. gr	.Goodwin's Grammar.
•	. Hadley's Grammar, revised by Allen.
i. e	The state of the s
K	.Kühner's Grammar.
Kenn	. Kennedy's Translation.
K. 7. č	. kai rà erepa, etc.
L. and S	. Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.
	.Laurentian Manuscript S.
lit	
Lord B,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	. Madvig's Greek Syntax.
	. Manuscript, Manuscripts.
	. Niyua, name of the oldest and best Manuscript of the text.
8C	scilicet, namely, understood.
Schae:	.Schaefer's Edition.
st	.instead of.
V., Voem	.Voemel's Edition.
w	.Westermann's Edition.
w	.with.
Wh	.Whiston's Edition.
wh	.which.
	.The Zürich Edition of the text, by Baiter and Sauppe.

NOTES.

This oration was more commonly known among the ancients under the name of pro Ctesiphonte. Its merits were especially lauded by the ancient rhetoricians, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (de Antiq. Orat. Comm., VI. 953 ff, ed. Reiske, and de Verborum Compositione, cap. XXV.), by Hermogenes (de Eloquentia Ratione), and by Quintilian (Orat. Inst., XI., XII.).

EXORDIUM, §§ 1-8. In this introduction the orator manifests a certain anxiety and timidity. Cf. Quint., XI. 3. 97.

§ 1. πρώτον μέν...εθχομαι: to commence a speech w. an invocation was unusual among the Greeks. One notable instance is Lycurg. c. Lcocr .: είχομαι γάρ τη 'Αθηνά και τοις άλλοις θεοίς. Æsch. c. Timarch., § 116, speaks of beseeching all the gods. But with the Romans this was not infrequent. Cf. Cic. pro L. Murena, pro C. Cornelio. Servius remarks on Verg. Æn., XI. 301: Majores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant. - 3 avopes 'A.: for the nature of the court thus addressed vid. Dict. Antiq. sub Dicasterion, Dicastes; Grote, IV. 188 ff; Schoemann, Greek Antig. - Tois: omitted by a few MSS. Dionys. Halic. shows that this word is essential to the rhythm of the sentence, wh. is anapastic. The same reason is given for the addition of ι in τουτονί below. — δσην... τοσαύτην: by reversing the order of relat. and demonstr. clause the orator makes more prominent the claim or ground upon wh. his request is based. - ξχων...διατελώ: what use of the partc.? H. 980, 981; Cu. § 590; G. gr. § 279, 1; C. 677. — Erae o': the de correlative w. $\mu \epsilon \nu$ is often omitted w. Ежеста. Cf. H. 1046, b; Madv. Gr. Syn., § 188, Rem. 5. — 8 жер has for its antecedent τοῦτο, the whole referring to μη...ποιήσασθαι...άλλά...τὸν брког, thus: that the gods may put that into your hearts which is especially for your interest, etc., not to make...but, etc. — εὐσεβείας...δόξης: "εὐσέβεια refers to their oath in particular; δύξα to equity in general. For δύξα

in § 8 the orator substitutes εὐδοξία as more explicit." Tyler. — τοῦ belongs to the whole phrase. So Plat. Repub., $352 \, \mathrm{d} : \mathrm{d}\lambda\lambda \mathrm{d} \, \pi$ ερί τοῦ διτυα τρόπον χρη ζην; Herod. 8. 79: στασιάζειν περί τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω $\mathrm{d}\gamma \mathrm{d}\theta \mathrm{d} \, \tau$ ην πατρίδα έργ $\mathrm{d}\sigma$ εται.

§ 2. τον δρκον: the oath taken by the Heliastæ. Isocr. 15, § 21, gives it in substance thus: δμνύναι ή μην δμοίως ακροάσεσθαι τών κατηγορούντων και των απολογουμένων. - δικαίοις: what these legal requirements were, Dem. explains more fully in his Orat. c. Lept., §§ 94, 96. — akpoarartu: What is the difference !so reads Σ; the other MSS. have ἀκροᾶσθαι. οίδε: the force of μύνον is continued. So in § 93. - Ισην: the word dμφοτέροις, wh. follows in most MSS., is probably an interpolation from § 7. άποδοθναι: what is the force of the dπό in this compound ! — τὸ τῆ τάξα ...χρήσασθαι: epexegetical of τδ...ἀκροάσασθαι and pred. nom. after έστὶν. - τη τάξει...τη άπολογία embraces both the order and the matter of the defence. The ragis is made prominent, as it was in this particular that Æsch. sought to hamper Dem. in making his defence. — βεβούληται και προήρηται: the perf. tense is used to indicate the previous preparation in accordance w. the practice of the ancient orators. - &s...outws: here again the relat. before the demonstr. clause. The attention of the judges is not called to obrws until its explanation (ws) has first been given. - Dissen calls attention to the completeness of this first period, and analyzes it into three parts, of wh. the first prepares the way for the second, the second for the third; while in the importance of the thought the same order is preserved. The orator now gives (§§ 3, 4) the special reasons for his previous request.

§ 3. obv = igitur, and is used here, as often, to indicate transition in the thought. — πολλά μέν, κ. τ. έ., now, while in many points...there are two wh. arc especially great. - & introduces the principal, who the subordinate sentence. και is emphatic w. μεγάλα; cf. και μάλα, και πάνυ. — οὐ περί τ. t. dy., i. e. I have more at stake. - Edeiv the ypaphy, lit. to seize the indictment; somewhat similar is our phrase, to get a verdict. Transl., to win his case. The loss of Æsch. in case of defeat would only be a fine of 1000 drachmæ and a forfeiture of the privilege of instituting similar suits. Cf. Boeckh's Publ. Economy of the Athen., I. p. 406; Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 734. — άλλ' έμοι μέν: by an abrupt stop, called in rhetorical phraseology aposiopesis (cf. Quint. (trat. Inst., IX. 2, § 54), the orator leaves his hearers to imagine the rest, since it would be unpleasant (δυσχεpés) for him to allude to an unfavorable verdict. Other instances are found in §§ 22, 195. W. supplies the thought in this way: but for mc, - my whole political curver is at stake in dependence on your approbation. - ix περιουσίαs, lit. from a superabundance; hence, needlessly, wantenly. We

understand Dem. to mean this: Æsch. jeopardizes nothing in this trial; he has but little to lose in case of defeat, nothing to gain in case of success. This prosecution, therefore, involving my dearest interests, has for its only gain my loss; hence, is undertaken in a spirit of simple wantonness and malice. Cf. ol δ' έκ περιουσίας πονηροί, Dem. c. Steph., § 67. Plato in Theat., 154 D, uses this expression of rhetorical contests that were engaged in as a pastime.— ἔτερον δ', sc. ἐλαττοῦμαι. — λοιδοριών, κατηγοριών: how these differ the orator shows in § 123.

- § 4. ώς έπος εἰπεῖν modifies πᾶσυ. For the constr. cf. H. 956; Cu. § 564; G. gr. § 268; C. 671. ἐνοχλεῖ: this fact had not escaped Æsch.; cf. infra. κᾶν...λέγω...δόξω: cf. H. 898; G M T. 444; Cu. § 545; C. 631. ἀπολύσασθα....δεικνύναι: Diss. thinks the aor. is used w. reference to the single charges (τὰ κατηγορημένα), each of wh. was to be refuted, and the pres. to denote the act that is to be continued throughout the oration. 5 τι...ἀν...ἀναγκάζη: cf. H. 912; G M T. 532; Cu. § 554; C. 641. The skill of the orator in making his opponent responsible for the odium of his self-laudation is commented on by Quint., XI. 1. 22, as follows: "Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regeret qui hoc se coegisset."
- §§ 5-8. In these paragraphs Dem. repeats the request for an impartial hearing, but from a different standpoint. "What before he prayed that the gods would inspire the judges to do as a matter of piety and reputation, he now claims also as a right, while he enforces the claim by a combination of new considerations with the former ones; such as the greatness of the interest at stake, etc." LARNED.—κοινὸν είναι: while the legal prosecution was against Ctes., the persecution was aimed at Dem., and it was important for the orator to emphasize at the outset the fact that his own personal interests were involved in this issue.— πάντων: in the sense of οὐτινοσοῦν = cujusvis, as is seen fr. the opposition in μάλιστα, κ. τ. έ. In a similar sense πανταχοῦ, § 81.— ἄλλως τε κᾶν = both otherwise and especially if.— φιλανθρωπίας: a virtue by wh. the Athen. considered themselves distinguished from the Spartans and others. An adroit appeal to Athen. vanity. So Dem. c. Lept., § 109.
- § 6. ἀξιῶ καὶ δόομαι, I request (as a right) and besech. Rhetorical fulness or emphasis. Dem. seems fond of using pairs of words nearly synonymous. Dissen gives the following instances fr. this oration, besides the one above: ἐτραγψδει καὶ διεξήει, § 13; κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, § 11; βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι, § 23; δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται, § 40; προύλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην, § 45; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι, § 274; λοιδορούμενος καὶ δια-

σύρων, § 180; πολεμείν και διαφέρεσθαι, § 31; προορώμενος και λογιζόμενος, § 27; μηδ' προοράν μηδ' αίσθάνεσθαι, § 40; είδως και έωρακως, § 248; βοών και κεκραγώς, § 132; είπεῖν και ἀπαγγείλαι, § 33; ζώντων και δυτων, § 72; έδίδαξας και διεξ $\hat{\eta}$ λθες, § 22; διέβαλλε και διεξ $\hat{\eta}$ ει, § 14. The student should be careful to give the exact meaning of these terms so as to bring out the shades of difference in thought doubtless intended by the orator. — duoles belongs to πάντων, as in §§ 61, 208. — δικαίως, impartially. Observe the emphatic position as far away as possible fr. its verb drovou. Its force is more fully explained by ωσπερ, κ. τ. έ. - δ τιθείς, the legislator, the founder. So below, τους δικάζοντας, ο διώκων, τῷ φεύγοντι, etc. are used substantively. - & apxns: "originally, not as the earliest lawgiver, but as the most influential. Hence ribels, wh. is strictly of one despotic lawgiver, whereas τιθέμενος is of a republic or community." Σόλων is lauded also by Æsch., § 257. — δημοτικός is defined by Æsch., § 168; cf. § 122 of our oration. — τῷ γράψαι: γράφειν νόμον = generally to propose a law in the popular assembly; but it may also mean, as here, to record or register by engraving on tablets or pillars of stone or brass. So Phil., III. § 41: εls στήλην χαλκ; ν γράψαντες. Transl. thought it proper should be made supreme, not simply by recording them, but also by putting the jurors under oath. — τοὺς δικάζοντας: most editt. add ὑμας, but the use of ὑμῶν before and after this sentence makes ὑμᾶs superfluous. Besides, Solon's legislation on this point applied to all times and cases; hence the orator first makes the general statement and then considers the application of this rule to the present case in the words : où κ d π 10 τ $\hat{\omega}$ ν $\dot{\nu}\mu\hat{\iota}\nu$, κ . τ . $\dot{\epsilon}$.

§ 7. φαίνεται = it is evident, different fr. δοκεῖ = it seems, in the best period of Greek. — altías: altía is defined by Dem. c. Androt., § 22, as a charge or accusation unsupported by proof, resting on the barren word of the accuser. It differs not widely fr. διαβολή = calumny. — als kk... ισχόει, by which the prosecutor, on account of his speaking first. is formidable. For use of πρότερος cf. H. 619, a; Cu. § 361, 8; G. gr. § 138, N. 7; C. 509. — διόκων (= prosecutor, Scotch pursuer), φεύγοντι (= defendant), παρελθείν (= to outstrip, to go by), suggest the figure of a race. — και...και: correlated, connect the parts of the protasis. — τὰ δίκαια = the legal arguments, the points wh. the defendant may adduce for his defence. — ισον... κοινὸν = impartial, common. That the two qualities may be distinguished is seen in Plat. Protag. 68; Eurip. Orest. 9: κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ έχων ισον. — οῦτω, thus; sc. after having furnished himself, etc. Diss. calls attention to the fact that the rhythm and weight of the sentence require διάγνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, rather than the less emphatic διαγιγνώσκειν.

§ 8. is tork: added not so much by way of sarcasm, as the Schol. believes, as to express caution on account of the general and broad assertion

Trolved in παντός. — παρακαλέσαι, to call upon or summon, as if coadinters. — ὑπάρξαι μοι: the corresponding sentence in § 1 has παρ' ὑμῶν, wh. s omitted here by Σ. Most Editt. follow the other MSS. in adding it. -τοῦτο refers to the sentence introduced by δ τι and is obj. of γνώναι, The whole depending on παραστήσαι, wh. in turn depends on εθχομαι. Most Editt. insert τους θεους after παραστήσαι as its subj. V. thinks this repetition would give a false meaning to the passage, as though the orator did not supplicate both ὑπάρξαι and παραστήσαι from the gods. For similar omission of subj. w. infin. cf. § 141. — ypadis: cf. Lex. II. B. — On the structure of this exordium cf. Arist. Rhet., XIV. 3. It may be considered with reference to (1) the prosecutor, (2) the jury, (3) the defendant It answers all the ends of a perfect exordium, which aims, as Quintilian says, "reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles." prayer at its beginning and close is a fitting refutation of the calumny of Æsch., who had represented Dem. as a contemner of the gods and of divine omens.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 9-52. Charges foreign to the Indictment. (a) Of a Private Nature (§§ 10, 11). (b) Of a Public Nature (§§ 12-52).

§§ 9-11. Introduction of the Topic and Defence of Private έδίωκεν ... κατηγόρησεν: διώκειν is said of the legal prosecution, LIFE. κατηγορείν of the oral accusation before the court. Cf. § 15 κατηγορεί, κρίνει. — προβουλεύματος, preliminary decree, i. e. an approval on the part of the Senate (βουλή) of a bill, wh. could then be brought before the Assembly (ἐκκλησία) for ratification; receiving wh., it became a ψήφισμα. In the present instance, Ctes. had introduced a bill that Dem. should be rewarded w. a golden crown for certain public services. From the Senate the bill went before the Assembly; but before it was acted upon there, Æsch. brought an action called γραφή παρανόμων, indictment for proposing measures contrary to law, against Ctes., and thus prevented it from becoming a decree (ψήφισμα). -- κατηγόρησεν... αν άπελογούμην: cf. H. 895; G M T. 410 and 413; Cu. § 537; C. 631. Explain the difference in the use of the tenses. — κατεψεύσατό μου: for the genit. cf. H. 752; Cu. § 424; G. gr. § 173, 2, N.; C. 699. — Tois Exween Lóyois, criminationibus a causa alienis, Diss.; by those irrelevant statements. — ήγμένος = παρηγμένος. άλλοτριώτερον: the Schol. says = έξωτερικώτερον, i. e. with an estranged or prejudiced mind. — τῶν...δικαίων...μου: critics are not agreed whether to understand των δικαίων as genit. w. dκούη and μου as possess., or as genit. of separation w. άλλοτριώτερον (somewhat estranged from what is just under the influence of τοις έξωθεν λόγοις) and μου governed by ἀκούη. The



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latter seems preferable on account of the sense and the position of $\mu o r$. — $\dot{v} m \dot{e} \rho = \pi e \rho l$ here. The distinction between these prepp. lies in the fact that $\dot{v} \pi \dot{e} \rho$ originally implies the *interest* or advantage of the thing or person concerning wh. anything is, or is said. In the orators this distinction is first lost sight of, and the prepp. are easily interchanged. Cf. $\dot{v} \pi \dot{e} \rho \tau \hat{\omega} r$ dlaw, § 10; $\dot{v} \pi \dot{e} \rho \tau \hat{\omega} r$ reproduce $\dot{v} r \dot{e} r$ $\dot{v} r \dot$

§ 10. λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε: the nice distinctions between the words employed by Deni. to denote slander, accusation, calumny; invective (cf. §§ 123, 126), should be carefully observed; λοιδορία is the more general term for invective, βλασφημία is more specific and concrete, and denotes the scandals or slanders uttered by a calumniator. — άπλα και δίκαια, st. άπλως και δικαίως, wh. are used in § 58. - τοιοῦτον, sc. δντα; cf. § 277. The supplementary partic. or is often thus omitted by the orators; cf. Madv. § 178, Rem. 4; K. § 310, Rem. 5. — ἀνάσχησθε...καταψηφίσασθε: what is there in the form of this prohibition and command that gives special emphasis? Follow in transl., as nearly as possible, the order of the Greek. Lord B. renders this spirited sentence thus: "but rise up this instant and condemn me." — βελτίω και έκ βελτιόνων: a standing formula among the Greeks; similar are άγαθὸς έξ άγαθῶν, ἄριστος έξ άρίστων. — τῶν μετρίων, of the average or respectable class. State the argument of Dem. in this sentence. — ην...ενδέδειχθε...παράσχεσθε: for this constr. cf. H. 995; Cu. § 597, 3; G. gr. § 154; C. 552, 553.

§ 11. κακοήθης...εύηθες ψήθης: a play upon words wh. is inimitable in Jacobs renders it by argmuthig ... gutmuthig. Dem. makes but sparing use of the Paronomasia, as it was called by the rhetoricians, and only where the thought is made more prominent by it. Cf. § 267; so c. Aristocr. § 202: ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐλευθέρους ἀλλ' δλέθρους; Phil., I. § 24: ό στρατηγός ακολουθεί; vid. Rehdantz's Dem., IX. § 18, for many more illustrations. Spengel remarks that Æsch. has nowhere made any such statement, and that this is simply an artifice of Dem. by wh. he would have it appear that he does not shun the direct issue. - TOUTELOS: a metaphor taken from the ribald jokes and abusive epithets uttered by those who rode in chariots in the procession (πομπεία) of the Anthesterian festival. For a specimen cf. Aristoph. Ran., 416 ff. — avenue, recklessly. — av... άκούεν ή: the uncertain position of άκούεω in the best MSS. (some placing it, as here, after β ., others after $\tau o \nu \tau o i \sigma l$) leads some critics to look upon it as an interpolation. In Orat. pro Megal., § 3, the approved reading is υστερον, αν ύμων βουλομένοις ή, δείξω, without ακούειν. For constr. cf. H. 771, a; G. gr. § 184, 3, N. 5; Cu. § 435. The tact of the orator in adding, if it shall please you to listen, is manifest.

§§ 12-17. Introduction to the Public Matters irrelevant to

THE INDICTMENT. In this paragraph Dem. aims to prove the personal malice of this prosecution by pointing out its indirectness and futility. πολλά, sc. ἐστίν. — ἐνίων defines and limits the preced. gen. ὧν as an appositive. Cf. Thuc., l. 6: έτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οίς; Dem. de F. L., § 260: τας γαρ ακροπόλεις αυτών ένων Μακεδώνες φρουρούσω. — αυτη. sc. έστίν. So most Editt., in opposition to most of the MSS. wh. read αὐτή. We understand Dem. to mean this: "My opponent is not heaping charges upon me in order that I may be punished according to law, but his motive is this," etc. - έχθροθ μέν is the protasis of τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν, μέντοι being in antithesis to μέν. — ἐπήρειαν: "a malicious disposition to injure others without gaining any profit one's self." - "βριν has reference to contumelious acts; λοιδορίαν, to contumelious words. — τών κατηγοριών, κ. τ. έ., constr. w. δίκην άξιαν. — The argument of this and the following section runs thus: If the state cannot administer a befitting punishment so as to meet the ends of justice, a prosecution becomes a malicious persecution. This the state cannot do where the defendant has no opportunity of making a proper defence. This opportunity Æsch. has taken away from Dem. in three ways: (1) by bringing the indictment against Ctes. and not against Dem. personally; (2) by bringing the charges so long time after the alleged misdeeds; (3) by failing to make these charges definite and specific.

§ 13. τὸ προσελθείν, κ. τ. έ.: obj. of ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, wh. takes two accusatives (cf. H. 724; G. gr. § 164; Cu. § 402; C. 480, c); the personal obj., wh. by implication is Dem., being omitted. The omitted subj. of doasρείσθαι is Æsch. — The phrase το προσελθείν τῷ δήμφ = to come before the popular assembly as a speaker. — hoyov tuxely, to obtain a hearing. By this indirect mode of attack, Æsch. compelled Dem. to defend his public policy in the court instead of in the ccclesia, and as the advocate of another instead of simply in his own defence. - iv ... rake, in the rank or quality of. For various uses of τάξις, cf. §§ 63, 173, 192. — πολιτικόν, lit. what pertains to a πολίτης; statesmanlike, Lord B.; constitutional, Kenn. — άλλ': Æsch. was in fault in two ways: in doing what he ought not to have done, οὐ γὰρ, κ. τ. έ.; and in not doing what was right, sc. to prefer these charges directly and regularly, άλλ' έφ' ofs, κ. τ. έ. - έτραγώδα: the allusions of the orator to the earlier career of Æsch. as an actor, are neither complimentary nor infrequent. Cf. ὑποκρίνεται below; διεξιών, § 41, and many more instances. — παρ' αὐτὰ τάδικήματα, during or at the very time of (παρά = alongside of) the misdeeds. This use of rapd w. accus. is frequent in the orators; cf. L. and S. sub v. II. - χρήσθαι, sc. έδει from δεί above. elσαγγελίας: the είσαγγελία here meant was an extraordinary action of impeachment brought directly before the Senate or Assembly, for special or peculiar violations of law not provided for in the ordinary courts. Cf. Meier and Schöm. All. Proc., p. 260 ff. — τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, i. e. in the peculiar way of the εἰσαγγελία. — γράφοντα.... γραφόμενον: γράφειν = to propose; γράφεσθαι = to indict. — παράνομα, lit. laws contrary to existing ones; unconstitutional measures is a fair rendering. — παρανόμων: for the nature and operation of the action called γραφή παρανόμων, cf. Dict. Antiq. sub voce; Meier and Schöm. All. Proc., 282; Schöm. Greek Antiq., p. 483. — ού γάρ...δύναται.... ἐγράψατο: the force of οὐ extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. §§ 16 and 288 for a similar use of the negat. Transl. for it cannot be that, etc....but that he would not have indicted, etc. — δί ἐμδ: how diff. fr. δί ἐμοῦ? Cf. note on δί οδ, § 35. — ἐμλ...αὐτὸν: cf. § 279. — εἴ περ...ἐνόμιζεν...οὸκ ἀν ἐγράψατο: cf. H. 895; G M T. 410; Cn. §§ 537, 541; C. 631, 632. Account for the diff. of tense in the protasis and apodosis.

- § 14. ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίστες, trials and verdicts; these are the practical application of νόμοι and τιμωρίαι. ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο... ὑμολογεῖτο ἀν: same form of cond. sent. as above in § 13, except that the relat. adv. ὁπηνίκα introduces the condition. τοῦς...πρὸς ἐμέ, the legal remedies applicable to my case.
- § 15. τοσούτοις...χρόνοις: the events connected with the peace of Philocrates 16 years ago, and those connected with the Phocian war 25 years ago. ὑποκρίνεται, he acts a part, i. e. he plays an underhand part in prosecuting Ctes. while really aiming at me. εἶτα, then, thereupon, denotes sequence in thought or narration. προίσταται, puts in the foreground; not as a pretence or screen here, but as the real cause. οὐδαμοῦ: in § 251 Dem. boasts that Æsch. had never brought a single action against him personally. ἐτίρου: difference between ἔτερος and ἄλλος? The genit. is one of separation. ἐπιτιμίαν: if Ctes., in case of conviction, should be unable to pay the fine (τίμημα) of 50 talents, he would fall into ἀτιμία until the fine was discharged.
- § 16. καίτοι: a word of frequent occurrence. The part. τοι has generally an intensive or additive force; = and verily, and furthermore. προς w. dat. = in addition to. dv...έχοι: potent. optat.; cf. G M T. 235; H. 872; Cu. § 517, Obs. 1; C. 636. dv λέγειν = either dν έλεγεν, one could be saying (but he does not), or, what seems more in harmony w. έχοι above, dν λέγοι, one might say (if he would). τον έξετασμον ποιείσθαι: spoken of the litigants, while of the judges the phrase των πεπολιτευμένων έξέτασω ποιήσεω is used in § 226. οὐ belongs to the whole sent. τὸ μὲν...ἀγωνίζεσθαι...ἐτέρφ δ΄...ζητεῖν, and implies the repetition of δίκαιον ην. ἐτέρφ... δτω : for the sake of emphasis st. ἔτερον δτω by inverse attraction. Cf. H. 1603; G. gr. § 153, N. 4; Cu. § 602; C. 554 (c).

§ 17. ἐπ' ἀληθείας ούδεμίας, based upon, with regard for no truth. For similar use of ἐπί w. genit. cf. §§ 22, 226, 294. — ὑπὶρ τῆς εἰρήνης: the often referred to peace of Philocrates. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXIX. — τῆς πρεσβείας: the second embassy to Philip, for the purpose of receiving his oath to the peace agreed upon and sworn to by the Athenians. This embassy is known as ἡ παραπρεσβεία, and forms the theme of two orations by the rival orators. — τους, in Attic usage generally means probably, likely. — κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, throughout those times.

§§ 18-52. Examination of Charges made with Reference to THE NEGOTIATION OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES (\$\\$ 18 - 24), AND THE SECOND EMBASSY TO PHILIP (§§ 25-52). τοῦ...Φωκικοῦ...πολέμου: for an account of this war, sometimes called also the Sacred War, through wh. Philip obtained the long-coveted opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of the Greeks, cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII.; Smith's Hist. of Greece, Ch. XLII. — συστάντος, having been organized. "συνιστάναι is to organize either for good or evil. The orator wishes to impute external agency, originating in Macedon or at Athens, as the prime cause of the Phocian outbreak." HOLMES. - οὐ δι' ἐμὲ: Dem. disclaims having had anything to do with stirring up this war. Wh. joins these words w. οδτω διέκεισθε, as if the orator would deny that he had prejudiced the feelings or warped the judgment of his fellow-citizens against the Thebans. But this seems uncalled for, since this prejudice against the Thebans was of long standing and generally understood. For allusions to this feeling cf. Dem. Oratt. 1. 26; 3.8; 5.15; 14. 33; 20. 109. — Tote: the first public speech of Dem. (c. Androtion) was delivered in 355 B. C., and the first political speech (de Symmoriis) a year later; but the difficulties wh. terminated in the Phocian War commenced in 357. The student will notice that Dem. silently passes over the first of the four periods in wh. Æsch. (in the subjoined extracts) divides his career, and treats the second period, wh. is the one now under consideration, as irrelevant to the present suit. - σωθήναι: Athens, by reason of her hatred of Thebes and ancient friendship for the Phocians, though furnishing no active assistance, sympathized w. the Phocians. — καίπερ...ος ωντις: "This refers to the plunder of the Delphian temple; and we may notice w. what nice sense of decorum the orator speaks of the Phocians, who had been ancient allies of the Athenians, but whose conduct in plundering the temple of Delphi was condemned throughout the Grecian world." LARNED. - Θηβαίοις...παθούσιν, but that you would have been delighted at the Thebans suffering everything. For av w. infin. cf. G M T. 207; H. 964; Cu. §§ 575, 576; C. 658 a. — ols... έν Δεύκτροις: at the battle of Leuctra, 371 B. C., the Thebans, under Epaminondas, gained the victory over the Spartans, and established their supremacy (ἡγεμονία), wh. lasted until their overthrow

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in the battle of Mantines, 362 B. C. During this period they had not used with moderation the advantages of their position. In their arrogance they had deprived Orchomenos, Thespiæ, and Platæa of their abrovoµia, and invested the city of Oropus, an act that was especially distasteful to Athens. Diod. Sic. XV. 79, speaks of the "Leuctric insolence" of the Thebans, -Enced: not temporal, but sequential here, as indicating the next item in the enumeration of facts. - Sucryke, plupf., to indicate the resulting state or condition, was in a state of faction. - of purovivies: sc. the Messenians, Arcadians, Argives, Sicyonians. — of mporepov... apxovres: the hated Harmosts that had been placed in command over several cities by Lysander immediately upon the close of the Pelopon. War. Cf. Xen. Hellen., III. 5. 13; Isocr. Panegyr., p. 36. — акрытов: promiscuous and interminable; а single word hardly renders it. Cf. Il., II. 796: the μῦθοι ἄκριτοι of Priam; id. III. 412: the άχεα άκριτα of Helen. - Diss. calls attention to the graceful structure of this last period. First the general statement, ή Π. διειστή-KEL; then the explanation and description by the parts introduced by Kal; finally the summing up of the whole idea in stronger terms, dλλά τις, κ. τ. έ.

§ 19. χρήματα ἀναλίσκων, by lavishing money. Philip's skill in the use of bribes became proverbial. Cf. Horace Od., Bk. III., XVI. 13. By his conquests in Thrace he had obtained possession of the gold-mines of Crenides, wh. are said (cf. Bœckh, Publ. Econ. Athen., p. 10) to have yielded him an annual revenue of 1000 talents. — ἀντοὺς = ἀλλήλους; cf. H. 686; G. gr. § 146, N. 3; Cu. § 473; C. 537 c. — ἀντ, then, denoting sequence. — ἐν οἰς, κ. τ. ἐ.: the sense is that by means of the errors and follies of others he was advancing his own interests. — κατά, against, with hostile intent. — ταλαιτωρούμενοι: deriv.? — τοῦ πολέμου: the Phocian War, wh. lasted about 10 years. — τότε...βαρεῖς: because the memory of their supremacy was still fresh. — νῦν...ἀτυχεῖς: in 335 B. c. Alexander razed Thebes to the ground and sold many of its inhabitants into slavery. Æsch., in alluding to the fate of this city, says in his Orat. c. Cles., § 133: Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι πόλις αστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται.

§ 20. τίοδν, κ. τ. δ.: Dionys. Halic., περί Ίσαίον, § 13, remarks that no orator has made such frequent and forcible use of the rhetorical question as Dèm. What then co-operated with him in ensnaring you as his almost willing dupes?— ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Έ.: the art. agrees w. the nom. implied in κακίαν and ἄγνοιαν. The — shall I call it baseness or ignorance of the rest of the Greeks? Cf. § 271 for a similar turn. — πόλεμον συνεχή: the entire period of hostilities from the capture of Amphipolis in 357 s. c. until the peace of Philocrates, 346 s. c. — σώμασιν, men, troops. — διά ταῦτ': Dem., in attempting to free himself from the responsibility of bringing about this peace, skilfully avoids incurring the ill-feeling of the judges and the people,

by throwing the blame upon the circumstances and the state of public affairs existing at the time, rather than upon the people themselves. But, not satisfied with this, he adds very adroitly, that it was not the peace after all, but the corruption of the men engaged in its negotiation, that was the cause of the present troubles.— ev atrū: not during it, but in relation to it, i. e. in the transactions connected w. the peace.— dv... Eferály... etphores: cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; Cu. § 545; C. 631.

§ 21. akpibologoupai kal biefipyopai, subtilius persequor et commemoro, V.; weighing and sifting, Lord B.; faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction, Leland. This might be added to the instances of rhetorical pleonasm enumerated in note on § 6. With respect to these pleonasms Diss. remarks the simplicity of the Greek as compared w. the elaborate ornateness of Cicero, who not only uses such amplifications more frequently, but often joins words employed figuratively to those used in a literal sense. - et... Socoln...ior: a mixed cond. sent. Is this combination of moods common? Cf. G M T. 500; H. 901; Cu. § 549; C. 634. — τὰ μάλιστα: adverb. accus., modifying ablunua elrai; the sense is supposing the wrong to be ever so great. - Actor 66 nuce: a celebrated actor who was sent by the Athenians as envoy to Philip, by whom he was greatly esteemed, to treat for the release of Athen, prisoners of war, who had been captured at the taking of Olynthus. Upon his return, Aristodemus reported to the Assembly the friendly feeling of Philip towards the Athenians, and his desire to enter into an alliance w. them. — τούτου, sc. Æsch.; cf. οδτος, § 20. The opposite party in a suit is generally referred to by this demonstrative. - 'Ayvouros: Hagnus was the name of the deme to wh. Philocrates belonged. — οὐδ' ἄν...ψευδόperos, not even though you should burst with lying, Kenn. The allusion is to the violent tones of Æsch., wh. Dem. often ridicules. - Espoulos: one of the foremost politicians of this period, a friend of Æsch. and of the Macedonian party. His financial policy, particularly in leading the state to set apart large sums for the Theoric Fund (cf. note § 55), contributed not a little towards rendering the state bankrupt and demoralizing the people. — Κηφισοφών: mentioned in the psephisma, § 29, as one of the envoys sent to Philip; of the deme Rhamnus; probably the same person who is mentioned by Esch. de F. L., § 73, as a Paranian and one of the friends of Chares. Cf. A. Schaefer, Dem. und seine Zeit, II. p. 182. - eyà & où&ev oisapos: this is a flat contradiction of the statement of Asch. in the subjoined extract. Dem. in his speech de F. L., §§ 15-18, denies that he was in favor of the peace on the terms proposed by Philocrates. On this disputed point we may adopt the view of Grote (Ch. LXXXIX.) as being the one probably most correct: sc. that Dem. supported the proposal of Philocrates for peace and alliance w. Philip, except that special clause wh.

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excluded the Phocians; that this clause was subsequently repudiated by the Assembly, but, when the treaty was sworn to, the Phocians, in violation of this action of the Assembly, were tacitly and practically excluded through the misrepresentations and false promises of Æsch. and his party (wh. are referred to in § 35 of our oration), and that it was against this feature of the treaty that Dem. protested, though not until it was too late. The statement then of Dem. before us is not absolutely, but only relatively true. That he should have been at this time in favor of a peace on almost any terms seems not so strange when we remember the state of the Athenian mind in this period: "repugnance to military cost and effort, sickness and shame at their past war with Philip, alarm from the prodigious success of his arms, and pressing anxiety to recover the captives taken at Olynthus." Grote. — "It was the hopelessness," says Niebuhr, "of expecting aid from the other states that justified Dem. in being a party to the peace of Philocrates."

§ 22. ἐπ'...άληθείας: cf. § 17. — ἄρα, forsooth; inferential particle often w. a tinge of irony, as here. — προς τψ... γεγενήσθαι, in addition to having become. For mods w. dat. cf. § 16. - altrios, the guilty cause. The charge made by Æsch. was twofold: (1) Dem. was the author of the peace; (2) he concluded it apart from the confederacy of the allies. - Ral also κεκωλυκώς είην: why the optat.? G M T. 669. 2; H. 932; Cu. § 528; C. 643. Why this form of the optat.? - κοινοῦ συνεδρίου, a general synud, wh. met at Athens and was formed of the delegates of the new Athenian confederacy that had been constituted soon after the Peloponn. War. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXVII.; Smith, Ch. XXXIX. - et 2 : another instance of aposiopesis; cf. note § 3. — ξστιν δπου σὺ παρών...ὁρών...ἡγανάκτησας, is there an occasion where you being present seeing me...expressed your indimation. - παρελθών, lit. passing along or by (the audience), i. e. coming forward to the tribune or platform from wh. in ancient assemblies (as nowadays in the French and German parliaments) the speaker was wont to address the meeting.

§ 23. το κωλύσαι: the use of the art. w. the infin. here and in το σιγησαι gives emphasis to the contrasted notions of these verbs, while the use of the aor., to indicate a single definite act, is in strong contrast to the pres. in βοῶν, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, δηλοῦν. — ἐγὰ Φιλίππφ: such juxtapositions for the sake of emphasis are frequent in Dem.; cf. §§ 255, 271. — σοι: observe its emphatic position. In the points just commented upon we have an illustration of the remarkable skill displayed by Dem. in the structure of his sentences. — τότε: after the fall of Olynthus, 347 B. C., embassies had been sent out by Athens to several of the Greek states in order to form a common league against Philip. Both orators confess that these embassies

were fruitless. Cf. Esch. de F. L., § 79. Esch. charges his rival w. precipitating the negotiations of the peace so as to prevent the allies and confederates of Athens from participating in the treaty. The statements of the two orators upon this point are hopelessly conflicting. Professor Tyler adopts the conclusion of Grote, that not all the envoys had yet returned, but some were still absent when the peace was concluded. A. Schaef., II. 200 ff. believes that all had returned, but that the states to which embassies had been sent, having declined to join Athens in a league against Philip, and being at peace with him, had of course no interest in the treaty now under consideration. However these points under dispute may be decided, there seems no doubt that the sentiments of all had been thoroughly tested (πάντες ἐξεληλεγμένοι), and were fully understood at Athens.

§ 24. xupls... i ciberai : "Dem. not merely refutes, but makes the refutation an occasion of attack. We have already had examples in §§ 10, 11." LARNED. — el mapakalete... ènémmere... biempátterbe: cf. H. 893; G M T. 402; Cu. § 536; C. 631. — Εὐρυβάτου: an Ephesian who was sent by Crossus into the Peloponnesus with money to raise mercenaries, and deserted to Cyrus, his rival. This name became proverbial for treachery and knavishness; thence is derived the verb εὐρυβατεύεσθαι. — τί γὰρ καί β., for with what desire even. — έν τούτφ τῷ καίρφ, at this juncture, i.e. while the Athenians were considering the terms of a peace w. Philip, the attempt to unite the Greek states against him having been abandoned. - awarv, i. e. to all whom the Athenians had asked to unite against Philip. - άλλ'... έβουλεύeco6: a rhetorical syllogism whose conclusion is probable. For similar dilemmas cf. §§ 124, 125, 139, 196, 217. — οδκουν: some MSS. read οὐκοῦν: what is the difference ! - & apxis: the original peace of Philocrates is by this designation distinguished from the peace of Demades made after Chæronea. — οῦτε...οὖδ'...οῦτε: οὐδὲ is subordinate and emphatic, οῦτε... oore being co-ordinate, neither...nor even ... nor. It will be noticed how with the last oure the orator adds an inference from the preceding, just as at the close of § 23 with οδθ' οδτος ύγιες, κ. τ. έ. — ων...δν: for this partic. constr. cf. H. 981; Cu. §§ 590, 593; G. gr. § 280; C. 677.

§§ 25-41. PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE, AND ITS IMMEDIATE RESULTS. — και γὰρ: not elliptical here, but και in the sense of also, i. e. also from these affairs, just as from those above rehearsed. — ἔγραψα βουλεύων, as senator moved a resolution. — τὴν ταχίστην: the importance of this haste is manifest. This motion was made by Dem. on the 3d of Munychion (April 29), some 7 days after Antipater as representative of Philip had taken the oath fr. the Athenians. — ἄν...πυνθάνωνται: st. πυνθάνωντο, as it is more significant to give the words of the decree in a direct form. — ἀπολαμβάνων: what is the force of ἀπό here? Cf. ἀποδοῦναι in § 23.

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§ 26. τ(...) βόνατο, quod hoc sibi volcbat? Diss. What was the intent of this (sc. my resolution)? — Φιλίππφ μὰν... ὑμῖν δὶ: the student will not fail to notice the balanced structure of this sentence. — ἀφ' ἡε... ἡμέραε = ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦ. Cf. H. 995; Cu. § 597. 3; G. gr. § 154; C. 554. — τοῦτο: alludes to what? Reiske says to ὡς πλεῖστον... τῶν δρκων; but this interval of time between the oaths had itself for its ulterior aim the cessation from preparations for war on the part of the Athenians. With W., therefore, we make τοῦτο refer to πάσας ἐξελύσατε, κ. τ. ἐ. — ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου: ἐκ w. genit. expresses time from its first beginning, including the whole extent of the period until the end. Lit. from all the time, i. e. from first to last. Cf. § 203.— ὅσα τῆς πόλεως, whatever possessions of the city; referring particularly to Philip's conquests in Thrace of places in alliance w. Athens. — προλάβοι: cf. H. 917; Cu. § 555; G M T. 532; C. 641. The action in the partic. νομίζων is repeated or continued, i. e. in each case or all the while supposing.

§ 27. & v ols dv fi: cf. note on dv πυνθάνωνται above. — [v'... γίγνοινθ': past purpose after γράφω an historic present; cf. H. 828; G M T. 33; Cu. § 487; C. 609. — διόσυρε, ridiculed. The corresponding passage in Æsch. (§ 82) shows an intentional perversion of these names: as, Μυρτίσκην st. Μυρτηνόν; Γανίδα, wh. is simply a play upon the sound of Γάνος; Σέρριον is mentioned by Herod. VII. 59, and by Dem. Phil., III. 16; Harpocration in his Lex. mentions Μυρτανόν and Έργισκη. — ούτω, under these circumstances. — τοὺς ἐπικαίρους, the favorably located ones; alluding to the importance of these places in a military point of view, since they were situated in the vicinity of the Thracian Chersonesus, wh. belonged to the Athenians. — πολλών χρημάτων: cf. note § 19.

§ 28. εἶτα, then or thereupon, to indicate sequence of thought. — ούχι λέγα...ἀναγιγνώσκει, he does not cite, nor does he read. The distinction between these verbs as indicated in our translation is not always maintained in the orators. Below, e. g. λέγε is used in the sense of read or cause to be read, and is addressed to the γραμματεύν or clerk of the Archons. — προσάγειν, to introduce. "Foreign ambassadors were introduced to an audience with the people by a resolution of the Senate (cf. Æsch. de F. L., § 58). Demosthenes as Senator moved that Philip's envoys should be introduced to the people for the purpose of discussing the conditions of the proposed peace." Wh. — τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει, with this he taunts me. For this genit cf. H. 751; Cu. § 424. 8; G. gr. § 177; C. 699. Cf. § 299: τὸν τειχισμόν δυ σύ μου διέσυρες. — μη̂: this negat, introduces the whole question and expects the answer no, but its special force falls upon the nearest verb, προσάγειν, to propose not to introduce, etc. — διαλεχθώσιν: the subj. st. optat., for the sake of vividness of narration. Cf. H. 881 a; G M T. 321;

Cu. §§ 531. 1; 532, Obs.; C. 653. — 66αν: this was the so-called προεδρία, a distinction conferred upon the guests of the state by resolution of the Senate. — Tor doxitectora, the lessee of the theatre, called also beat points, θεατροπώλης, who paid a certain rent to the state, kept the buildings in repair, and received the entrance fees. — ev τοιν δυοιν δβολοιν, in the twoobol seats, i. e. the seats of the common people, for which two obols were paid. Cf. Bœckh. Publ. Econ. Athen., p. 304. The price is put for the place, and the expression seems to be colloquial; so of $l\chi\theta\dot{\nu}\epsilon s = the fish$ market, τὰ βίβλια = the book-market. Some Editt. prefer to take & w. the dat. as expressing means, i. e. by the payment of two obols. - unpd: this word is not found in the original reading of Σ , and is therefore omitted by the Editt. of our text. In retaining it w. the other MSS. I am particularly influenced by the remark of V. that the word is necessary to express the antithesis to 7à 8ha. The orator means this: to exercise care over such small matters as the expenditure of a few obols or the bestowal of some attention upon the guests of the state, this, as compared w. guarding the general interests (τὰ δλα) of the state, is not worth the mention.

§ 29. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ: there are in all 35 of these documents referred to in the course of the oration, of wh. 28 purport to be given in full and 7 are mentioned only by name. The fact that in most of the speeches of the Attic orators the documents are omitted, their names merely being given, has of itself awakened suspicion concerning the genuineness of those contained in this oration. It is sufficient for the practical purpose of the student to know that the majority of modern critics regard these documents as spurious. The internal evidence for this opinion will be given in the case of a few. Those who desire to weigh the arguments pro and con upon this long-disputed question, are referred to Professor Champlin's summary in an Appendix to his edition of this oration; to the paper of Professor W. W. Goodwin on The Chronology of some of the Events mentioned in Dem. on the Crown, in the "Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1871, 1872"; to Droysen in Museum Rhenanum, II., 1845; to Böhnecke's owaγωγή ψηφωμάτων in Vol. II. of his Untersuchungen, Berlin, 1843; to Væmel's 5 treatises, published in 1841 - 1845; to Bæckh's de Archontibus Pseudonymis; and to Westermann's Untersuchungen über die in die Attischen Redner eingelegten Urkunden. A fresh argument against the genuineness of these documents, based upon the enumeration of the στίχοι or lines in the MSS., is given by the Editor in the "Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1874-1875." The inconsistencies of the following document are these: Mynorpilow: this decree was passed in 347 B. C., the year before the peace, and Themistocles was archon for that year. — ἐκατομβαιώνως: from Esch. de F. L., § 92, we learn that it was passed on the 3d of Munychion.

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NOTES.

- Πανδιονίδος: acc. to Asch. de F. L., § 82, Dem. was the πρόεδρος or president for the day. But acc. to Schöm. (Greek Antiq., p. 399) the proedri were chosen by the emistarys of the Prytanes (for explanation of these terms cf. Dict. Antiq.) from the nine tribes which were not in the prytany; hence, if Dem. was proëdrus, the tribe of Pandionis to which he belonged could not have been in the prytany at this time. — Sebox Bas, be it moved or resolved. — τῷ δήμφ: from Dem. de F. L., § 154, we learn that the δημος had given the Bould absolute power to pass decrees for the time being without this sanction; consequently the δημος had nothing to do w. this decree. - πρώτη: Dem. de F. L., § 15, says: είς την ύστεραίαν εν ή την είρηνην έδει κυροῦσθαι; and Æsch. de F. L., § 61, mentions the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion as the days of the Assembly; and Dem., l. c. § 57, says, the peace was adopted on the 19th (the second day of the Assembly). — we're: the number was ten. Cf. Æsch. de F. L., § 97. — ύπες βολήν, delay; not so used in classical Greek. - Souva: the Athenians had already given their Cf. §§ 25, 26. — Εύβουλος, κ. τ. &: Eubulus and Æsch. are well known, but the other names are probably fictitious, being found nowhere else except in the spurious γραφή, § 55, where Kη. and Kλ. figure as wit-In Dem. de F. L., § 229, the names of 4 of these envoys are given: Φιλοκράτης, Αίσχίνης, Φρύνων, Δημοσθένης.

§ 30. γ pá ψ avros... ξ η ro $\hat{\nu}$ vros, although I had proposed...and was seeking. The student will observe the difference of time expressed by these partice .χρηστοl: ironical; cf. §§ 89, 318. — τρείς δλους μήνας: this is the whole time of the absence of the envoys. They took the tedious land route from Orcus to Macedonia, were 23 days on the way, and remained 27 days at Pella awaiting the return of Philip fr. Thrace. Cf. Dem. de F. L., § 155. — Цебу: accus. absol.; cf. H. 973; Cu. § 586; G. gr. § 278. 2; С. 675 d. - τριών ή τεττάρων: W. states that in this time one could go by water from Pella to any point of the Hellespont, and that in a direct line the distance was no greater than fr. Athens to Ephesus, to accomplish which three days were allowed. — $\pi \alpha \rho \delta \nu \tau \omega \nu \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu = \epsilon l \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \pi \alpha \rho \hat{\eta} \mu \epsilon \nu$; cf. H. 971 b; G M T. 841; Cu. § 584; C. 635. If we had been present, i. e. we, the Athenians, represented by the envoys. — &v...elxe: the impf. to indicate that Philip was still holding the places. Critics call attention to the skill of the orator in stating the same fact from several points of view. decree, e. g., is considered w. reference to (1) its cause; (2) the end in view; (3) the result that followed its neglect; (4) the result that would have followed from its observance.

§ 31. το μέν...πρώτον: observe that the antithesis is found in ετερον δ' below, and that within the compass of this sentence there is a subordinate antithesis between κλέμμα μέν and δωροδίκημα δέ. — δωροδόκημα, ρίεςε of

venality. L. and S. give only the concrete meaning bribe. Cf. κακούργημα = piece of villany. — τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων: the spondaic rhythm of this sentence adds to its weight. — και τότε και νῦν και ἀει ὁμολογῶ, κ. τ. λ., I avow that I not only then was, but now am, and ever shall be, at war and at variance. — εἰθὺς ἐφέξης, directly next in order; modifying the idea of κακούργημα, i. e. that wh. occurred immediately after the δωροδύκημα mentioned above.

§ 32. dulipper: this is the reading of Σ and other MSS. of the better class. By the use of the first person in distinction fr. αὐτῶν, wh. refers to Æsch. and his party, the orator intimates that while he was a member of the embassy he was not implicated in the guilt of this delay. For the use of the subj. after wreiras histor. pres. cf. H. 881 a; GMT. 318; Cu. § 531 a, b; C. 649, 650. V. and W. read & ** uper, wh. is found in Bekk. Anecd. p. 129; this is then taken as a future, cf. H. 885; G M T. 339; Cu. §§ 500, 553; C. 624 b. — ποιήσαιτο: the optat. is regular after histor. pres. (ώνεῖται). — ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμών = εἰ ἡμεῖς ἀπηγγείλαμεν; the indic. to denote that the condition is assumed as real. — μέλλει... παρασκευάζε-Tas: the pres. indic. states the fact in the direct narration. Give the Greek forms in the indirect narration. — History: cf. L. and S. II. 2. πρότφον: after Philip had overrun Thessaly, he attempted, in the summer of 352 B. C., to effect a union with the Thebans against the Phocians; but he was unexpectedly frustrated by the Athenians, who sent an expedition under Nausicles to guard the pass of Thermopylæ. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII. - τον τόπον, the region, i. e. the pass. The comm. reading is πορθμών, wh. is not only contrary to Σ , but also erroneous in sense, since Philip's army was almost wholly a land force, and it was the land passage that was to be barred to his entrance.

§ 33. οῦτω: join w. φόβω καὶ πολλη ἀγωνία, was in so great fear and anxiety that. In like manner πολύς, though expressed but once, is understood with two subst. in § 209: ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἔππους; in Lysias 30. 26: χρήματα καὶ πολλάς εἰσφοράς. W. — καὶ: strongly concessive, even though. — τοῦ... ἀπολέσθαι: what kind of time is indicated by the aor. infin.? Cf. GMT. 96; H. 851; Cu. § 495 b, Obs.; C. 660. — βοηθεῖν, sc. τοῖς Φωκεῦσω, wh. is retained by V. from the reading of Σ, but other Editt. omit as superfluous. — μισθοῦται: what is the distinction between the indic. and the infin. after ώστε? Cf. GMT. 582; H. 927; Cu. § 565; C. 671 d. — τὸν...τουτονί: the demonstr. force of the ε borders upon contempt, like the Lat. iste. This despicable fellow here present.

§ 34. μεμνήσθαι, sc. $\dot{\nu}\mu\hat{a}s$; a similar omission of the subj. of the infin. is found in §§ 17, 229. — $\mu\dot{\eta}$ κατηγορήσαντος $\mu\eta\delta\dot{\epsilon}v = \epsilon l \ \mu\dot{\eta}$ κατηγόρησεν $\mu\eta\delta\dot{\epsilon}v$; cf. note § 30. — έτερον, in the sense of $\dot{a}\lambda\lambda\dot{\delta}\tau\rho\iota\sigma = irrelevant$. Cf.

ετερος ὁ λόγος οὐτος, § 44. — πάσαις: in the sense of παντοίαις. — alriaus και βλασφημίαις, charges and calumnies = calumnious charges. Cf. alriaus και διαβολάς, § 7. — ἄμα, at the same time; with the accusations contained in the indictment. Where previously has Dem. cast upon his opponent the blame of departing from the actual points at issue?

§ 35. παρά, from, st. όπό, to indicate an idea of source. — δί σὖς = propter quæ verba, denoting cause; δί ὧν = quibus verbis, denoting instrument. — ὧς οὐ δαῖ: the direct form of narration to give vividness. — ἔτται...ἐὰν ἔχηθ': cf. H. 898? G M T. 444; Cu. § 545; C. 631. — οἰς μὰν: the Phocians; οἰς δὲ: the Thebans. — οὐ belongs to the entire sentence; cf. § 17. — μάλα σεμνῶς δνομάζων, "phrasing it pompously enough." — τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφίρεν, identity of interests. — τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος, stupore et molestia. V. The stolid insensibility of the Bæotian character gave rise to the proverbial βοιωτία ὕς; cf. οἱ ἀναίσθητοι θηβαῖοι, § 43. Wh. renders βαρύτητος by overbearing insolence; Jacobs, by Schwerfälligkeit. Oppressiveness is the rendering of Holmes.

§ 36. $\forall \pi \circ \hat{\mathbf{v}} = lurking$. The ill-feeling was chronic and ready to burst out into an open rupture. Cf. § 18: ἀν έφησθ ηναι, κ. τ. έ. — ούκ εἰς μακράν, lit. not unto long (after); i. e. not at a point of time long subsequent to what has gone before. The prep. els marks the terminus w. reference to wh. the action is considered. In § 151 is a similar use. course of events was as follows: On the 13th of Scirophorion the envoys returned from Philip; on the 16th they made their report to the Assembly; on the 27th came the news that Phocis had fallen into the hands of Philip. The Phocian towns, 22 in number, were razed; the people were deprived of their arms, excluded fr. the Amphictyonic council, and condemned to pay an annual tribute of 50 talents into the treasury of the Delphic temple, until they had restored what had been taken from the god. — buas 8' ...σκευαγωγείν: upon receiving the intelligence of the destruction of the Phocian towns, the Athenians, fearing a sudden attack from Philip, resolved to summon the rural population to bring their loose effects (σκεύη) and their wives and children within the shelter of the walls, and to put the Peiræus and the outposts of the city in a state of defence. — άπέχθειαν την πρός Onβalovs, the hostility on the part of the Thebans fell to the lot of the city. άπέγθειαν w. πρός occurs above in the subjective sense (our hostility towards them), here in the objective sense (their hostility towards us) as regards the $\pi \rho \delta s$ w. the genit. would be usual to express the idea of on the part of, but the accus. implies motion or activity, and indicates that Athens had to place herself in an attitude of defence against Thebes. For a similar use of πρός w. accus. cf. Dem. de F. L., § 85: ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρός Θηβαίους μείζω Φιλίππω δε την χάριν πεποίηκεν. We are not to understand that the ill-will of the Thebans against Athens now first arose, for Athens had favored the Phocians all along, but that it was increased at this time; how, the orator tells us in his speech de F. L., § 85: "While Philip had determined from the first to favor the Thebans, Æsch., by reporting the contrary and by showing that you were plainly not on the side of the Thebans, augmented their enmity against you and their gratitude to Philip."

§§ 37, 38. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ: the genuineness of this decree is at once placed in doubt by the name of the archon and the date. Mnesiphilus is nowhere mentioned among the archons. μαιμακτηριώνος δεκάτη απιόντος, the 21st of Mæmacterion, is nearly 5 months after the time (the 27th of Scirophorion, cf. note § 36) that the intelligence of the destruction of Phocis caused so much alarm at Athens. It seems incredible that the Athenians should have waited so long to take the precautionary measures of this decree. Furthermore the contents do not agree with the statement of Dem. de F. L., §§ 125, 126 : καί παίδας καί γυναίκας έκ των άγρων κατακομίζειν έψηφίζεσθε και τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν και τὸν Πειραιά τειχίζειν και τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἐν ἄστει θύευ. — συγκλήτου έκκλησίας, in the Assembly convened. — υπό στρατηγών και πρυτάνων, και βουλής γνώμη: most Editt. place a comma after στρατηγών and none after πρυτάνεων; the punctuation here adopted is that of V., who believes that an extra Assembly could be convened by the generals only through the agency of the prytanes, and cites in support of his view Thuc. IV. 118. The και before βουλής seems superfluous and is excluded by Dind. — παρευρέσει: we should expect προφάσει. The word is, if not an error, at least in this sense a barbarism. - Koltasov ylyverbal: "Greek of a later age, used twice by Polybius and once by Plutarch. The Greek of the period would substitute κοιμᾶσθαι. άπόκοιτος is classical, Æsch. p. 45, 1, 2; but ἀποχοιτεῖν (infin.) and ἀφημερεύειν are both ἄπαξ λεγύμετα. The great number of unclassical words in these documents is alone sufficient to condemn them as spurious." TYLER. - δσοι μή... άποτεrayuévos, as many as have not been detailed for the garrisons. For the use of the indic. and the negat. $\mu\dot{\eta}$ cf. H. 913, 914; G MT. 534 and 518; C. 651, 686 b. — ἐπικρινέτω δ...στρατηγός: acc. to Droysen the assignment of such a duty to any of the generals is contrary to all that is known of Athenian jurisprudence. — & ent the Stockhows, the general of the administration. Acc. to Beeckh (Publ. Econ. Athen., p. 247) this officer had certain judicial and administrative duties connected with the army. In § 115 he is charged with the duty of paying the soldiers. — do: how different from doa? Its strong ironical force here must not be overlooked. - The emphatic words ταύταις and μισθωτός stand first and last in the sentence.

§ 39. EIIIETOAH: however well the haughty tone of this epistle seems to harmonize with the character of Philip, there can be no doubt of

its spuriousness as soon as we notice its contradictions to what we know of the circumstances connected w. the conquest of Phocis. Notice (1) the contradiction between the intent and meaning of the letter as quoted in § 40, and its actual tenor. (2) Directly contrary to the statement of the letter, Diod. Sic. 16. 59, says: οι δε Φωκείς συντριβέντες ταις έλπισω παρέδωκαν έαυτούς τῷ Φιλίππφ · ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς άνευ μάχης άνελπίστως καταλύσας τον lepde πόλεμον. Similar is the testimony of Dem. de F. L., § 61: μηδεμίαν των πόλεων των έν Φωκεύσιν άλωναι πολιορκία μηδ' έκ προσβολής κατά κράτος. (3) In the genuine letter it seems probable that Philip gave some reasons to justify his proceedings against the Phocians. — xalpew, greeting; the usual form of salutation. — ξαυτούς = ημας αὐτούς; cf. H. 686a; Cu. § 471, Obs. c; G. gr. § 146, N. 2; C. 539 c, d. — Tois Shows, altogether. So τοίς δλοις σφαλήναι = to be altogether ruined. — μέτριον ποιείν, to act with moderation or fairness. Diss. regards the expression as a euphemism for male agitis; Holmes makes it a meiosis for you seem to do anything but what is fair. - buolus, in like manner, as though the peace had not been concluded; almost equivalent to $\delta \mu \omega s = nevertheless$. For a similar sense cf. § 110. — Ew tou ipparival adirouves, beyond that of being the aggressors in doing wrong.

§ 40. akovere: indic., as would be expected after the reading of a document; cf. §§ 121, 158. The imperat. would naturally be used when a document is to follow. — προς τους έαυτου συμμάχους: the allies referred to are the Thebans and Thessalians; the phrase is to be joined directly to δηλο? και διορίζεται, as is indicated by the punctuation in our text. Benseler, Hiatus, p. 94, says that fr. the repetition of the prep. Tobs it may be inferred that the clause $\ell\nu \dots \ell\pi \iota\sigma\tau \circ \lambda \hat{\eta}$ is to be taken as a parenthesis. Diss. and others understand συμμάχους as explanatory of υμας; but why then πρὸs, and what is the sense? It seems probable that Philip had acquainted his allies w. his correspondence w. the Athenians, and that from the genuine letter sent by Philip at this time they could more readily discern the sentiment expressed in ωστ' εί περ... εμοί δε πιστεύσετε, than we can fr. this counterfeit document. — ἐκ τούτων ῷχετο ἐκείνους λαβών, by these means he hurried them along with him. of $\chi_0 \mu a i \tau_0 \lambda a \beta \dot{\omega} v = I$ am off with something, a frequent combination denoting an irresistible and sudden carrying away. Animos illorum rapuit. Bremi. — els το ... προοράν των μετά ταθτα, κ. τ. &, so far that they did not even foresee nor become aware of any of the consequences. els expresses the point to wh. he had carried them, and w. 70 and the infin. is nearly equivalent to ωστε of result. - eaσa : notice the striking contrast between the use of the aor. and of the pres. in αἰσθάνεσθαι and προοράν. — ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ: the dat. denotes the state of subjection; in § 39 the acc. υφ' έαυτους denotes the process of subjugation. — οι ταλαίπωροι, sc.

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 $\Theta_\eta \beta a i o$. So read Z., Bekk., Dind., following Σ ; all other MSS. and Editt. have $\Theta_\eta \beta a i o$ either before or after κέχρηνται. The reference is primarily to the condition of the Thebans after the destruction of their city in 335 s. c. As to the omission of the name, it is argued, on the one hand, that to express it would exclude any allusion to the Thessalians, who, though not so badly off as the Thebans, were after all not wholly out of the mind of Dem. as having suffered injury fr. their connection w. Philip; cf. Phil., II. § 22; III. § 25. On the other hand, it is argued that the omission of $\Theta_\eta \beta a i o$ fr. Σ must be accidental, since the orator proceeds in the next paragraph to describe just their condition.

§ 41. & & taitys the wisters, k. t. &., and his co-operator and helpmate (aiτ μ depends on σύν in composition) in winning this confidence, sc. in Philip on the part of the Thebans and Thessalians. - devantoras: a word taken from the ordinary speech of the people and frequently used by Aristophanes, derived fr. ϕ éra $\xi = quack$, impostor. — $\delta u\xi u v$, rehearsing; cf. note on έτραγώδει, § 13. — ἀπάντων: differs fr. πάντων in summing up and combining the preceding particulars in one entirety; it may be rendered by of all together. - wal...wal...wal...almos; the energy and compactness of such sentences as this justify the praise of Quint., X., Ch. I., § 76: "so tense, as it were, with nerves, so free from anything superfluous." - Shlor often introduces an ironical sentence, for you forsooth grieve, etc. — Επτούμην: after the destruction of Thebes, Alex. demanded the surrender of the principal anti-Macedonian orators, among whom Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were the chief ones. Acc. to Diod. 17. 15, there were ten of them; but Arrian, Anab. I. 10, mentions only nine. For further information cf. A. Schaef., III. p. 127.

§ 42. άλλλ γὰρ = Lat. at enim. The ellipsis is something like this: but (enough of this now) for; cf. § 211.— ἐμπέπτωκα: as if unintentionally.— αστίκα, presently, i. e. in the immediate future.— ἐπάνειμι δή... ώς, κ. τ. ξ., I will return accordingly...that, etc. δή calls attention to something just stated. The statement introduced by ώs is a renewal of the proposition made in § 20, and the narration is resumed fr. § 36.— γὰρ: epexegetical, to introduce the promised proofs; cf. the beginning of § 169.

§ 43. οἱ κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ: the Thessalians were especially despised and hated by the rest of the Greeks. Diss. quotes the following epithets as applied to them: στάσεως μεστοί, ἄπιστοι, διπλοῖ καὶ ποικίλοι. — ἀναίσθητοι: cf. note § 35. — πάντὶ, all in all; cf. Thuc. VIII. 95: Είβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ῆν. — οὐδλ... ἡκουον, εἰ... βούλοιτο: a mixed condit. sent., w. the apodosis in the indic. st. optat. w. ἀν to denote the actual fuct, and in the imperf. to indicate that this fact was habitual or customary. — ὑφορώμενοι — suspicantes. — οὐ γὰρ ῆν δ τι ἀν ἐποιεῖτε, for there was nothing

that you could have done. οὐκ ἐστι ὅστις is more frequently found than οὐδείς ἐστιν ὅστις in general negations. Cf. Eurip. Mcdea, 1306; id. Phæn., 597; Æsch. Choeph., 170. For the indic. w. ὧν cf. G M T. 243, 244; H. 903; Cu. § 544, Obs. 3; C. 631 b, 636. — καλ...δλ: in this combination of conjunctions καl generally expresses the comparative idea, also, as well as. — ἤγον τὴν εἰρήνην: Dind., V., and other Editt. read ἀσμενοι καl after this expression. V. claims that this addition is forcible, as making the folly of the Greeks all the more patent. — αὐτοὶ τρόπον...πολεμούμενοι, although they themselves were in a certain manner the object of his warlike operations for a long time. A similar concessive force of the partic. is found in παρών, §§ 83, 117; ἔχων, εἰδώς, § 142; κρατοῦντι, § 146. — ἐκ πολλοῦ: ἐκ indicates the point from which the danger began.

§ 44. γάρ: epexegetical, to explain τρόπον τινά πολεμούμενοι. — περιών. marching and countermarching. - 'Ιλλυρίους και Τριβάλλους: the Illyrians were subdued by Philip, acc. to Diod. XVI. 69, in 345 B. C. The invasion of the Triballi is brought by Justin, IX. 3, in connection with the Scythian expedition in 339 B. C. The whole period, accordingly, between the conclusion of the peace and the renewal of hostilities is referred to. τινάς...τών Έλλήνων: during this period Philip supported Messenia and Argos against Sparta, seized the colonies of Elis in Epirus, placed Macedonian garrisons under Cleitarchus and Philistides in Oreus and Eretria, occupied the Thracian Chersonesus, and threatened the Athenian possessions on the Hellespont. — $\tau \hat{\omega} \hat{v}$ in $\tau \hat{\omega} \hat{v}$ where $v = \tau \hat{\omega} \hat{v}$ is $\tau \hat{\omega} \hat{v}$ and $\hat{\omega} \hat{v}$ αὐτῶν. This form of Brachylogy is frequent. K. § 300. 4, calls it attraction of the preposition. Cf. Xen. Anab., I. 1. 5: δστις δ' άφικνοῖτο τῶν παρά βασιλέως = τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ δυτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφικνοῖτο. So in this oration, § 145 : των έκ τής χώρας γιγνομένων = των έν τή χώρα γιγνομένων έξ aυτη̂s. Cf. §§ 169, 213 for similar instances. — έκεισε, proceeding thither, i. e. to Pella, where Philip had his court. The allusion is to the scheming and treacherous politicians in the allied cities of Athens, who, under the sanction of the peace, went so often to Philip on the errands of traitors. ούτος, sc. Æsch. But had his bribery commenced only then? — έτερος ό λόγος ούτος, this is the concern of another. Ετερος = άλλότριος, cf. note § 34.

§ 45. παρ' ὑμῖν: of the speeches made in protest by Dem. at this time we have but one preserved, the second Philippic. — δποι: some of these places are mentioned in § 244. In Phil., II., § 19; III., § 72, reference is made to the two embassies to the Peloponnesus upon wh. Dem. went. — ἐνόσονν, were discased. Dem. likes to compare the disorders of the body politic with those of the physical organism. Cf. § 296. — τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ, on the one hand, those engaged in public life and service were become venal

and corrupt for the sake of (int = with a view to) gain; while, on the other hand, those in private life and the masses (supply two before Tollier). Tolliτεύεσθαι και πράττευ, δωροδοκούντων και διαφθειρομένων are instances of pleopasm wh. Diss. praises as "bona latitudo dictionis." but Schaefer condemns. — та иги...та бе: partly...partly. — белеасоричич, к. т. Е., caught with the bait of the ease and comfort of the present moment. - Tolovrovi Ti malos. being affected in some such way as this. What this affection was, oloubran, κ. τ. έ., states. — πλήν ούκ: Dobræus rejects πλήν from the text. But the use of both these adverbs adds great force to the thought: they supposed t're terrible thing would come, only not upon themselves, i. e. it would come everywhere else except there. whip our is quite frequent after mapres. Cf. Xen. Lac., XV. 6; Dem. 56, p. 1290: πλέουσα πανταχόσε, πλήν ούκ είς 'Aθήνας. - έτέρων depends on κωδύνων. - δταν βούλωνται: each state cherished the delusive hope that it could preserve itself by directing the attack of Philip upon the others. This paragraph gives a striking picture of the demoralized and hopeless condition of Greek national life.

§ 46. olpas: how do olpas and olopas commonly differ in Attic usage?—
dert = in return for. — τοις προεστηκόσι, the leaders. — και connects the two partice.; supply τοις before olopetrous; cf. των ιδιωτών και πολλών above.
— πεπρακόσιν: for the partic. constr. cf. H. 982; Cu. §§ 589. 1, 591; G. gr. § 280; C. 677. The dat. is by attraction to agree w. the obj. of συμβέβηκε (τοις προεστηκόσι) st. w. the omitted subj. of αισθάνεσθαι. — ξένων: a ξένος is a friend plighted by the ties of hospitality; Germ. Gastfreund. — ακούσυσιν, like the Lat. audiunt = they hear themselves called, bear the name of. After this word many texts insert εικότως, wh. is not found in Σ, Laur. S. "Seepe etiam additum a scribis ad γὰρ ellipticum explicandum, ante quod supplenda εἰκότως, οὐ θανμαστόν, talia." V.

§ 47. δν = τούτων d. — dν πρίηται: cf. H. 919 a; Cu. § 554; G M T. 532; C. 641. — γλρ: elliptical; supply dλλωs or el δὲ μή, wh. forms the condition to the apodosis dν ήν. Dem. here makes use of a rhetorical syllogism: If the traitor secures the permanent favor of those whom he serves, he is of all men the most fortunate. But he is cast off as soon as he has served his purpose; ergo, he is not the most fortunate, but the opposite. To illustrate this statement, examples are given in the next paragraph. — πόθεν; whence can it be? impossible? Cf. §§ 52, 140. Of similar emphasis are πῶς γάρ, § 312; πῶς γάρ οδ, § 299. — ἐγκρατὴς...καταστῆ, has established himself in full possession of his object. "καταστῆ suggests the security of his position, ἐγκρατὴς the completeness of his conquest." Holmes. — καλ...ἐστί, he is also. The indic. (ἐστί) shows that this sentence forms the apodosis to ἐπειδὰν καταστῆ. The sentiment is forcibly brought out in the words of Habington quoted by Wh.:

"Mischief while it prospers brings favor from the smile of kings; Useless, soon is thrown away."

— τότε δή, from that very moment.

§ 48. και γάρ: an instance of the well-known elliptical use of γάρ w. nal: and (it is well that you should do this) for; generally the nal in this use may best be left untranslated, but its force as making the causal sentence more emphatic should always be felt, if not expressed. — μέχρι τούτου... του, until that moment... until; a repetition like πρότερον... πρίν for the sake of emphasis. Thuc., I. 90, § 3, has μέχρι τοσούτου έως. — Δασθένης: by delivering 500 cavalry men into Philip's hands during the siege of Olynthus, betrayed his own city. Cf. Diod., XVI. 53. — Tuohaos: in § 295 the same name occurs in the Doric form. Acc. to Theopompus, as quoted by Athenæus, Timolaus was one of the most debauched men and corrupt politicians of his time. Deinarchus, I., § 74, makes him for scandal's sake the friend of Dem. - Esouros, Espos: acc. to Harpocration were two of the tetrarchs among whom Philip, in 342 B. C., apportioned the jurisdiction of Thessaly. — was a joinounty, the whole habitable world, i. e. the Grecian world. In his Orat. de Halonn., § 35, Dem. contrasts ή οἰκουμένη with άλλη τις χώρα, manifestly meaning his own country in a general sense. — μεστή γέγονεν: the ordinary reading adds προδοτών: became full of traitors driven about and suffering insult. But V., Bekk., W., Z., Sauppe, following Z. omit this word and make the partic. agree w. τούτων understood and referring to the individuals just named. V. thinks that Dem. is here speaking only of the contempt in wh. these traitors were held, elsewhere (sc. § 295) of their great number; and he understands meanth of the notoriety of their fate, wh. filled all Greece. More natural seems to us the interpretation of W., that all Greece was full of, i. e. sated with, wearied of these men driven from city to city and everywhere despised and maltreated. — ti: supply πέπουθεν fr. πασχύντων above. - 'Aρίστρατος: tyrant of Sicyon, mentioned in § 295 and in Plut. Vit. Arat., 13. - Heplaces: attempted in 343 B. C. to deliver Megara into the hands of Philip by the aid of Macedonian mercenaries. His attempt failed through aid sent by the Athenians under Phocion.

§ 49. οὖτος...τὸ ἔχαν...περιποιεῖ, he it is "who secures to you the opportunity of getting bribes." Kenn. The patriotic citizen in guarding his country's independence affords thereby the traitor the opportunity itself of making his nefarious gain. — καὶ διὰ, κ. τ. ἐ.: the force of the δτι after ίδοι continues here. — τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ: refers to the majority of the populace that had supported the measures of the patriotic party. — τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους: refers to the orators and leaders of that party. — ἀν ἀπολώλατε: forms the apodosis to a protasis implied in διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, as

if it were εἰ ὑμεῖς κατεπράξασθε τὰς ἐαυτῶν γνώμας. The plupf, because of the peculiar meaning of ἀπόλωλα.

§§ 50-52. Conclusion of the First Part of the Oration. ALEXANDER'S FRIEND IS ALEXANDER'S HIRELING. «Ιρήσθαι: the infin. depends on the adj. karûr. Cf. H. 952; Cu. § 562; GMT. 763; C. 663, 664. - two spariar, dregs, stale mess, foulness, are the best transla-Bekker's Anecdota defines this word as the lees of wine and dregs of a night's debauch, that were poured out by the revellers upon such as had fallen asleep amid the excesses of the feast. Hermogenes the rhetorician cites this as one of the boldest metaphors of the orator. Gowep apologizes for its use. The application is obviously to the stale and hashed-up charges of treachery wh. Æsch. was seeking to turn away from himself upon Dem. - hv... mpds... and wood as of which it was essential that I clear myself before those younger than the events. wobs w. accus. denotes the aim of the action in ἀπολύσασθαι; he must vindicate himself to those younger, etc. As the events referred to occurred between 348 and 346 B. C., from 18 to 16 years ago, and a dicast need not be more than 30 years old, it is probable that some of the members of the court were at the time of these events mere boys of 14 or 16 years. — παρηνώχλησθε: what peculiarity in the inflection? - murdapular: this word is placed purposely at the end in order to give better occasion for the following refutation.

§ 51. ξενίαν, hospitality, or more properly guest-friendship. Cf. note on ξένων, § 46. — που λέγων = somewhere in his speech. — ξένον...φίλον: correspond to φιλίαν...ξενίαν, but with the order reversed for the sake of variety.

§ 52. μισθωτόν: emphatic position. — πότερον... ή: cf. H. 1017; Cu. § 611; G. gr. § 282. 5; C. 685 c. — µ10 Peròs ... Ervos: the emphatic order in English is the reverse, that alternative coming last wh. the speaker expects in response. As regards this appeal itself, the following explanations are presented in the order of our preference: (1) Dem. felt sure of a favorable response from his avowed adherents, and was already conscious of the favor of a large part of the jury. He therefore felt safe in risking a direct appeal. Cicero in Orat., 31, 111, Brut., 84, 290, tells us how the orators would move their auditors to loud assent and dis-A clear instance of such direct appeal and responsive assent is found in Dem. c. Aristocr., § 19: Dem. asks: περί τοῦ παρανόμου βούλεσθε πρώτον; The jury is supposed to reply yes: and Dem. rejoins, τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐροῦμεν. (2) The whole passage is a later addition made by Dem. upon a revision of his speech, in order to give it more the appearance of an extemporaneous effort. This is the opinion of Diss., who adds § 138 as another instance of a later insertion on the ground of its being too harsh a criticism upon the jury to be spoken at the time. (3) The orator expected no

response; mere silence would give assent. But to this opinion dxobets seems opposed, as also the well-known custom for the jury to express loud assent or dissent. (4) Acc. to Ulpian, Dem. purposely mispronounced and said $\mu l\sigma\theta\omega\tau$ os, and the critical Athenians at once correcting him replied w. overwhelming voice $\mu u\sigma\theta\omega\tau$ os, as if in answer to his appeal. That such a trick would be wholly unworthy of the orator need hardly be said.

SECOND DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 53-125. Formal Answer to the Indictment. (a) §§ 53-59. Introduction and Statement of the Charges. (b) §§ 60-109. Refutation of First Count in the Indictment: the Public Administration of Dem. Justified. (c) §§ 110-119. Refutation of Second Count in the Indictment: Dem. not accountable for that which was the Ground of the Proposal to grown him. (d) §§ 120-122. Refutation of Third Count in the Indictment: the Proclamation in the Theatre not illegal. (e) §§ 123-125. Transition from the Second to the Third Division of the Oration, from the Defence to the Attack.

(a) §§ 53-59. †δη = Lat. tandem. — καl: correlated w. καl before πολλû. — προβεβουλευμένων refers to the proposed crowning wh. was as yet only in the form of a preliminary decree (προβούλευμα) passed by the βουλή, and wh. had first to be passed by the έκκλησία before it became a ψήφισμα. — δίκαιος: why not in the accus.? Cf. H. 940; Cu. § 570; G. gr. § 138, N. 8; C. 667 f.

§§ 54, 55. ГРАФН: manifestly not genuine, as appears fr. the following: Χαιρώνδου should be Φρυνίχου. Chærondas was Archon at the time when Dem. first proposed the reparation of the walls, wh., acc. to Æsch., § 27, was the 29th of Thargelion (about the 1st of June), 337 B. C. Three days later Dem. was elected Commissioner of Walls. But the date of this document is the 6th of Elaphebolion (about the middle of March), more than two months earlier. This document then would make out that Ctesiphon was indicted for an alleged offence two months before it had been committed! - Κοθωκίδης, of Cothocidæ; an Attic deme of the tribe Eneis. Its situation is unknown. - απήνεγκε... παρανόμων, brought or lodged a charge (γραφήν understood, as often in forensic usage) of illegality. How improbable it is that the bill of indictment should itself mention its own process at law. Cf. Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 607. — πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, i. e. the Archon Eponymus. But the process of the γραφή παρανόμων came properly before the Thesmothetæ. Cf. Dem. c. Leptin., § 98; c. Aristog., § 8. — 'Avadaurtiou: Anaphlystus was a deme of the tribe Antiochis, and was situated a little to the northwest of Sunium, on the western shore. don indicates a citation; we expect, therefore, a literal quotation of the decree of Ctesiphon. But we notice the absence of καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις. wh. is cited in § 57; and, acc. to Æsch., § 34, ἀναγορεῦσαι below should be followed by πρὸς τοὺς Ελληνας. The pretended ψήφισμα in § 118 is of too doubtful authority to serve as a criterion for this γραφή. — Παιανιέα: Pæania was the name of the two Attic demes, upper and lower P., of the tribe Pandionis, situated on the east side of Mt. Hymettus. - στεφάνω: crowns of olive, myrtle, laurel, and ivy were originally bestowed upon the victors in the national games. In later times, just when it is difficult to determine, crowns of gold were bestowed. In the period of Dem. civic crowns of gold were presented to that trierarch who was the first to furnish an equipped vessel to the Athenian navy, and to public men who had deserved well of the state. But this custom soon degenerated into a mark of political favor. Cf. Dict. Antiq. Corona. - Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις: for an account of the Dionysiac festivals cf. Dict. Antiq. The great Dionysia occurred in March, and were the gala days of the year, when Athens was crowded w. strangers and deputies fr. foreign states. At this festival the new tragedies were first brought out. — ortoavoi depends on drayoρεῦσαι. — άρετης: the generic term covers both the special points of merit: καὶ εὐνοίας...καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. — τῶν νόμων...καταβάλλεσθαι, since the laws do not allow, in the first place, that false documents be inserted in the public archives. If it could be shown that the statements in regard to Dem. were untrue, Ctesiphon was guilty of violating the law just stated. This is the first count in the indictment. It is to be remarked that while no such specific law as this can be shown to have existed, it was plainly against the spirit of the law in general, or against the common law, to introduce untrue statements in the public archives. This is what Æsch., § 50, means: ἄπαντες γάρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οί νόμοι μηδένα ψευδή γράμματα έγγράφειν έν τοις δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. — είτα, in the next place; introducing the second count in the indictment. - Tor insideror: all public officers, except the Dicasts, were obliged to render account of their office, and generally within 30 days after its termination, before the board of Auditors (λογισταί), and their associates the Investigators (εδθυνοι). For a full account of the duties of these officials cf. Beeckh Publ. Econ., p. 262 ff.; Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 100 ff. - TEXOTOLOS, Commissioner of Walls; this was one of the most important of the civil offices. - Two θεωρικών, the Theoric Fund, was a fund set apart to defray the expenses of the public games and festivals. Pericles first introduced the custom of giving as a largess to the populace the two-obol entrance-fee to the theatre,

which was paid from this fund. In the time of Dem. the theoricon had become a powerful means of corruption in the hands of politicians. Bookh (Publ. Econ., p. 311) estimates that the lowest annual expenditure for the theoricon at this period was from twenty-five to thirty talents, and that this amount may occasionally have been doubled or trebled. Justin, as quoted by Bœckh, remarks: "Then were the public revenues, w. wh. previously soldiers and rowers had been maintained, distributed among the citizens of Athens"; and B. adds: "Thus Philip was enabled to raise his head." - avayopevery and averment below depend on kedeubytwo, wh. is to be supplied from οὐκ ἐώντων above. — τη καινή: Wolff supplies εἰσόδφ; Reiske, έπιδείξει or άγωνία; V. παρόδφ. — τίμημα, penalty, damages. There were two kinds of suits or actions in the Athenian courts: (1) dywes άτίμητοι, in wh. the penalty was fixed and attached by law; (2) άγῶνες τιμητοί, in wh. the penalty was to be assessed by the jury. The γραφή παρανόμων belonged to the latter. — κλήτορες: κλητήρες was the usual form. These were the witnesses to the serving of the summons (πρόσκλησις). There were commonly two, and their names were always appended to the bill. — Κηφισοφών...Κλέων: cf. note § 29.

§ 56. τοῦ ψηφίσματος: partit. genit. with a. A similar constr. is found in §§ 59, 118. The decree is that of Ctesiphon. — πρῶτον, most of all, chiefly. — τὴν αὐτὴν τούτῷ τάξιν, the same order as this one; i. e. the order followed by Æsch. in drawing up the bill of indictment, not the order of his speech, where, probably w. a view to making his strongest points (sc. the technical points of the time and place of crowning) most prominent, he departs fr. the order of the indictment. Dem. was entirely consistent in demurring against the demand (§§ 1, 2) of his rival to follow the order of his speech, and just in taking advantage of the order of the indictment, by wh. he could place his weakest (the technical) points in the middle of his speech, where they would attract least notice.

§ 57. του... γράψαι... ἐπαινεῖν, as regards the statement that, etc., and the praise bestowed; these verbal nouns in the genit. depend on κρίσιν. — εἶτε... εἶτε καὶ: Diss. notices that when a speaker prefers the former of two alternatives he is apt to insert καὶ after the second εἶτε. So in § 58: εἶτε τρίσιν... εἶτε καὶ μή; Plat. Theæt., p. 168: εἶτε τρύτον εἶτε καὶ ἄλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἰσθησις.

§ 58. το δε μή προσγράψαντα... στεφανοῦν states the second point of the indictment; και άναπεῖν...κελεῦσαι states the third point. The entire sentence το... κελεῦσαι is summed up by τοῦτο and forms the subject of κοινωνεῖν = is connected with. On the constr. of the subordinate parts of the sentence critics are divided between these three opinions: (1) στεφανοῦν, like ἀνειπεῖν, depends on κελεῦσαι w. the omitted subject of wh.

(αὐτίν) προσγράψαντα agrees; (2) στεφανοῦν depends on γράψαι supplied fr. προσγράψαντα; and as for his proposing to crown without adding (πρόs) the proviso "when he has given in his accounts," and having ordered proclamation of the crown to be made in the theatre; (3) στεφανοῦν is coördinate w. κελεῦσαι and subj. of κοινωνεῖν. The first constr. is adopted by the largest number, and seems, on the whole, the most natural. — ἐν τούτοις: inter hos cives. côτοι is often used by the orators to refer to the demus or plebs in the Assembly and court. — ἔτι μέντοι, still however. μέντοι is correl. of μέν with κοινωνεῦν. — ἀπλῶς, as opposed to τεχνικῶς; hence, artlessly, without duplicity. — ἔγνωκα, I have determined.

- § 59. dwaray, lit. to hang away from, hence to separate, to disconnect. And let no one suppose that I am disconnecting my speech from the indictment. Dem. wishes to guard against the charge of irrelevancy. Upon this Lord B. remarks: "The extreme importance to Dem. case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by wh. he availed himself of Æsch. error, and at once entered upon the subject of his whole administration, thus escaping the immediate charge to wh. he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, required that he should again and again defend this movement, wh. he here does very carefully." - 'EAAnvird's woodens, Hellenic affairs and discussions, in distinction fr. Athenian; what w. us is called the Foreign Department. This distinction is made more clear in § 109. — τοῦ ψηφίσματος depends on the whole sentence $\tau \delta$ $\lambda \ell \gamma \epsilon \omega \dots \mu \epsilon$. — $\epsilon \ell \tau a$ kal tolder trouver, k. τ . ℓ . accordingly also, there being many departments of public life open to my selection; sc. such as those of finance, of war, of navy; kal anticipates the force of the sal before ras amodelfeis.
- (b) §§ 60-109. I. §§ 60-72. What the Condition of Greece Demanded of Athens. of resumes the statement at the close of § 58, wh. was interrupted by the apology offered in § 59. The student cannot be too careful in noticing the exact and delicate force of these particles and conjunctions. â...πρδ...δημηγορείν προϋλαβε: here Dem. refers to the period prior to the peace of Philocrates, 346 B. C., during which period Philip had taken Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, and Olynthus. Dem. disavows responsibility for the conduct of affairs, until, as the acknowledged head of the Anti-Macedonian party, he dictated the foreign policy of the state (ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην), wh. was from about 343 B. C. â...καὶ διεκωλύθη, but in what he was especially thwarted. The intensive force of καὶ w. the verb must be noticed. It was not Philip's successes, some of wh. he gained even after the entrance of Dem. upon public life, but his failures that Dem. now wishes to speak of. Attention is called by several critics to the skilful choice of the word διεκωλύθη, wh., by implying that Dem. acted upon the

defensive, prepares the way for the subsequent argument that all his measures were defensive and that he cannot, therefore, be charged w. the guilt of originating a war that brought ruin upon his country. — τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών: having premised thus much, as foundation (ὑπό) of the argument. — πλεονέκτημα: derivat? Notice the Asyndeton.

§ 61. φοράν: cf. L. and Sc., II. B. 3. — προδοτών... άνθρώπων: notice the cumulative force of these epithets. — Geois ex 8per : "God-detested. The phrase is used almost as if it were a single word, otherwise the abrupt introduction of the dat. would be rather inelegant." HOLMES. — yeyovulay: w. what verbs is the supplementary partic. joined instead of the infin. ? Cf. H. 981-984; Cu. §§ 590, 593; G M T. 878 and 904; C. 677. — καλ πρότερον κακώς...διέθηκε, the Greeks, even previously disaffected towards one another and factious, he made still worse disposed. The two adverbs in -ws are placed as far apart as possible for the sake of emphasis. — Tobs ukv, some, as e. g. the Athenians, by the peace of 346 B. C.; Toîs &, others by bribing, as e. g. the Thebans who were loaded w. favors for their cooperation in the destruction of Phocis. - Toùs be diapoelpav, by corrupting them in every possible way. The expression is climacteric and embraces both classes described by τούς μέν and τοις δέ. W. makes διαφθείρων refer to the Phocians in the sense of destroying; but in Dem. the prevailing sense of the word is corrumpere. Cf. § 295. — κωλύκιν: explanatory of τοῦ συμφέροντος.

§ 62. ἐν τοιαύτη...τήν πόλιν: the rhetorical order of this sentence is such that, while the connection w. the preceding sentence is made most clear, the emphatic words are made most prominent. — συνισταμένου καλ ψυομένου κακοῦ, of the gathering and growing mischief. Wh. The Z. Edit. reads ψυρομένου based upon Σ, wh. has ψυ ομένου; but the sense is decidedly better w. the reading of the other MSS., wh. is ψυομένου. — πράτταν καλ ποιείν: rhetorical pleonasm, in wh. the distinction in meaning is hardly felt. Cf. § 246. — ἐνταῦθα...τῆς πολιτείας, at that point of the administration.

§ 63. πότερον... †: cf. H. 1017; Cu. § 611; G. gr. § 282. 5; C. 701. 2. — Θετταλών και Δολόπων: these are mentioned because of the general contempt in wh. they were held and because of their Anti-Hellenic policy. Cf. Herod., VII. 132, 185. — συγκατακτάσθαι Φιλίπτφ, to have joined in acquiring for Philip. — και τὰ τῶν προγόνων...ἀναιρείν, "et majorum decora et jura evertere, qui pro libertate Græciæ gloriosissime pugnârunt et principatum meruere facinoribus egregiis." Diss. — κωλύσει, st. κωλύσοι οτ κωλύοι, the form of the direct narration for the sake of liveliness. Cf. Æsch. c. Cles., § 90. — ώς ξοικεν, profecto. Diss. remarks that this phrase has not rarely an ironical force; as in Engl. we may say: "I suppose," of what is very certainly known.



NOTES.

§ 64. Δλλά νέν, κ. τ. δ.: this sentence simply repeats in another form the idea of the preceding; συναιτίας corresponding to συγκατακτασθαι, and περιεωρακυίας to περιδεῦν above. — ἰβούλετ' ἀν, he would wish; the indic. w. ἀν denotes that the condition for realizing the wish is unfulfilled. Cf. H. 903; Cu. § 537; GMT. 243, 244; C. 631. — τῆς συναιτίας, εc. μέριδος, the party that was the joint-cause of. — ἀν είποι: what protasis may be supplied in thought! Cf. H. 872 a; Cu. § 544; GMT. 235.— ἐπὶ τῆ... Δωτίδι, with α νίεω to the hope; ἐπὶ w. the dat. denoting the purpose or object for which. — 'Αρκάδας... Μεσσηνίους...' Αργείους: the Arcadians and Messenians, Pausmias says (VII. 15. 6; VIII. 6. 2; IV. 28. 2), kept themselves wholly aloof in the last decisive struggle of Athens against Philip. The Argives had sought Philip's friendship and protection against Sparta. Cf. Isocr. Phil., § 74.

§ 65. ἀπηλλάχασιν, have come off. — και γάρ = Lat. elenim. — ήν αν...έναντιωθέντων: so reads Σ. The reading δμως $\hat{\eta}_{\nu}$ $\hat{\alpha}_{\nu}...ούκ$ έναντιωθέντων found in Reiske, Taylor, Diss., Bremi, Dind., and other Editt., is due to a false interpretation of this passage. Dem. wishes to justify himself and the Athenians in their opposition to Philip, and says substantially this: Had Philip, when he had gained the upper hand (exparnoe, wh. points to the close of the Phocian war, in wh. Philip had at least the appearance of doing right in punishing the violators of the Delphic sanctuary), - had he then withdrawn and made no further attempts against the rights of other states, there might have been some reason for censuring those who opposed him (i. e. us); since however he, on the contrary, used this victory over the Phocians as a means of further conquest, and gradually deprived all the states of their freedom, my solicitude and opposition are most fully justified, and you have done right and best in following my counsel. Thus by the concession in the early part of the sentence, Dem. strengthens his subsequent statement. — ols = τούτοις α : cf. H. 996 a; Cu. § 597. 4; G. gr. § 153, N. 1; C. 554. - wolvelas, constitutions; of a democratic form of government, in distinction from a ruparuls. - 50 w : in the same constr. as ἀπάντων above.

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time w. Dem. Cf. ἐκ τολλοῦ, § 43. — πρωτείων, precedence, primacy; referring to the hegemony. For the singular cf. § 321. — φιλοτιμίας, distinction, pre-eminence. — ἔκαστο: Dem. frequently compliments the Athenians for their readiness to sacrifice in behalf of the freedom and welfare of the other Greek states.

§ 67. τον όφθαλμον έκκεκομμένον: as similar instances of accus. of synecdoche, Holmes cites Aristoph. Nub., 24: είθ' έξεκόπην πρότερον τον όφθαλμον λίθψ; Æsch. c. Tim., § 172: έκκοπεις ο δειλαῖος άμφοτέρους τους όφθαλμούς. This wound Philip probably incurred at the siege of Methone, 353 n. c. Cf. Diod., XVI. 34. — την κλεῖν: this happened, acc. to the Schol., on the expedition against the Illyrians, 345 n. c. — την χεῖρα, το σκείλος: these injuries were sustained on his return from a Scythian campaign, the last one in an encounter w. the Triballi, 339 n. c. Justin, IV. 3, says: in femore vulneratus est Philippus. This enumeration of Philip's injuries seems to be given in chronological order; but Diss. observes: "suaviter a capite ad inferiora descendit."— βουληθείη: why the optat.? Cf. H. 914 B; GMT. 532; Cu. § 555; C. § 641. — μέρος, every part of his body, whatever fortune, etc. The antecedent is incorporated in the relat. clause, by wh., as Diss. observes, the emphasis of πῶν is increased. Cf. H. 995; Cu. § 597. 3; G. gr. § 154; C. 553. — τῷ λοιπῷ, reliquo corpore.

§ 69. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἡν, it remained therefore; as the only course left to be pursued. Notice the strong inferential force of τοίνυν, wh. at the same time adds to the considerations already advanced a new motive in the antithesis of δικαίως and ἀδικῶν. — ἔγραφον... καὶ ἐγὼ, and I especially acted as the mover of your resolutions and as your counsellor; καὶ before ἔγὼ is intensive. Cf. καὶ before διεκωλύθη, § 60. — καθ'...χρόνους: give the Greek without incorporation of the antecedent. — πάντα, dismissing



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all the rest. These earlier conquests Philip made in 358-345 B. C. Cf. note § 60.

§ 70. **Σίρριον**: cf. § 27. — Δορίσκον: cf. Æsch. c. Ctes., § 82. These Thracian towns were taken in 345 B. c. — Heraphbou: this island was laid waste by Philip, about 342 B. C., for ejecting the Macedonian garrison from the neighboring island of Halonnesus, for the possession of which Philip and the Athenians were contending. Cf. Æsch. c. Ctes., § 83. - ois... olba: "Sic me geram quasi omnino nesciam facta." Diss. - σύ γ', you, made emphatic by $\gamma \epsilon$ wh. generally throws its emphasis upon the preceding word; and yet you affirmed (though cognizant of all these facts) that I in speaking of these matters had brought these persons (sc. his auditors) into hostility (with Philip namely). — Εύβούλου: cf. note § 21. — 'Αριστοφώντος: of the deme Azenia, one of the leading statesman of Athens fr. the close of the Pelopon. War down to about 352 B. c. The chief aim of his policy seems to have been to unite Athens and Thebes against Sparta; cf. § 162. Dem. in his Leptin. Orat., § 146, calls him δεινός λέγειν. Æsch. c. Ctes., § 194, refers to Arist. as boasting that he had been acquitted on seventyfive charges of γραφή παρανόμων. — Διοπείθους: most scholars follow the Scholiast in supposing this Diopeithes to be the Athenian general who in 343 B. C. saved the Chersonesus fr. falling into the hands of Philip. But A. Schaefer (I. 163, II. 422) believes this Diopeithes to be the orator and statesman who is mentioned by Hyperides, of the deme Sphettus. - oite: as before I offered no resolutions w. reference to these matters, I will now also not speak of them.

§ 71. Espoiay: Philip sought to gain a foothold in Eubera as early as 350 B. C., when he supported the tyrant Callias of Chalcis against the Athenians under Phocion, who had been summoned to give assistance by Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria. The peace of 346 for a while checked his operations; but in 343 he boldly invaded the island, destroyed Porthmus, a fortification of the Eretrians, and placed his tools in power in Oreus and Eretria, as mentioned in the text. Vid. farther § 79. — σφετεριζόμενος, appropriating to himself. — tritelxioua, as a post of attack, base of operations against; cf. ἐπιτειχισμὸν, § 87. For this the position of Eubœa was admirably fitted. - Meyapous: in 343 B. C. a Macedonian faction, at the head of wh. stood Perilaus, endeavored to put Megara into the hands of Philip, so as to prepare the way for his conquest of the Peloponnesus; but this plan was frustrated through the prompt and energetic interference of the Athenians under Phocion. Cf. Dem. Phil., III., §§ 18, 27; de F. L., §§ 87, 204, 295, 326. — Έλλήσποντον: Philip occupied the Hellespont in 342 B. C., and sent out forces to conquer and destroy the towns of the Chersonesus. — Βυζάντιον: cf. note § 87. — πόλεις... ds μέν... ds δε: cf. H. 624 d;

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Cu. § 361. 12; G. gr. § 137, N. 2; C. 395. The use of as μἐν...as δὲ st. τὰς μὲν...τὰς δὲ, Bremi remarks, is contrary to the best Attic usage of this period and an instance of a vulgarism employed by the best writers. Professor Lipsius cites as the only example of this use prior to Dem., οδι μὲν...οδι δὲ in Xen. Cyrop., II. 4, § 23, where some Editt. read τοὺς μὲν...τοὺς δὲ. Cf. V. ad loc., who gives also ὧν μὲν...ον δὲ ap. Stob. Serm., XVI., p. 153, Gesn. What cities the orator has in mind has not been ascertained. — ἡδίκει: notice the continuance of the action expressed by the impf. in this and the following verbs. — ἡ μἡ: the negat. is to be joined w. φανῆναι; had οῦ been used, the question would have been less emphatic. The οῦ above is joined w. the preceding verbs in the indic. and expects an affirmative answer. Here the difference between μἡ and οῦκ may be expressed thus: ἡ (ἐχρῆν) μἡ (φανῆναι) = or ought he to have Not shown himself, i. e. failed to show himself; ἡ οῦκ (ἐχρῆν) (φανῆναι) = or ought Not he to have shown himself, i. e. was it not his duty to.

§ 72. την Μυσών λείαν: "Mysian booty" was proverbial for helplessness. The proverb arose from the story that during the absence of their king, Telephus, the Mysians became the unresisting prey of their neighbors. Arist. Rhet., I. 12, and Cic. pro F.acco, § 27, quote it. - ζώντων καὶ δντων, alire and in being. - elvas is sometimes used of an established political existence; so Dem. Phil., III., § 56: ὅτ' ἡν ἡ πόλις; de F. L., § 64: οὄσης της 'Αθηναίων πόλεως. W. Dind. compares Τιμοδήμω και νῦν έτι ζώντι και bri, Dem. pro Phorm., § 29. — περιείργασμαι, I have overdone the matter, exceeded my duty. — $\delta \epsilon \hat{i} = it$ is wanting or needed, physical necessity; $\chi \rho \eta = it$ is befitting or due, moral necessity; $\pi \rho \rho \sigma \eta \kappa \epsilon \iota = it$ is becoming or proper. — τούτων refers to ταθτα πάντα in § 71. — ταθτα, κ. τ. έ., this was my political course; sc. as implied in τούτων κωλυτήν above. — καλ...διετέλουν, and I was continually forewarning and admonishing you not to surrender (sc. your leadership and your liberties to Philip). The preceding passage, commencing w. § 66, Lord B. regards among the finest in all Dem. He says: "The heavy fire of indignant invective is kept up throughout, only limited by the desire to avoid any too personal offence to an audience as vain as supine, and as impatient of censures as it was deserving of them. The rapidity of the declamation is striking in the highest degree; the number of topics crowded into a few words, in § 71 especially, and the absolute perfection of the choice, is not to be surpassed." The force and breadth of the argument are no less admirable than the diction and style. It is stated from three points of view: (1) Looking at the condition of Greece, what did the honor of the city require Athens to do (§§ 62-65)? (2) Looking at the parties engaged in this struggle, was Athens to yield or to resist (§§ 66-68)? (3) Looking at the historical facts, ought any state to have resisted Philip; if so, which one (§§ 69-72)?

II. §§ 73-78. PHILIP, NOT ATHENS, BROKE THE PEACE; OTHER STATESMEN, NOT DEM., PROPOSED WAR. τῶ πλοῖα: reference is made to the seizure and plundering of Athenian merchantmen by Macedonian privateers, let loose by Philip about 340 B. C. This and the devastation of the Chersonesus were among the causes wh. finally determined the Athenians to a formal declaration of war. — ψηφίσματα: the decrees that follow are very unsatisfactory, not only failing to give us the promised answer to the question τίν τίνον αίτιόν ἐστι, but also wanting in clearness on the affair of the seizure of the boats.¹

§ 75. το δ' ἐφξης: what decrees Dem. refers to is not quite clear; probably, however, the same as those alluded to in § 70 (τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων), and bearing upon events prior to the peace of Philocrates. The point that Dem. aims to make in citing these names is, to show that as he was not the one who proposed the peace in the first place (cf. § 21), so he was also not the one who proposed its dissolution.— 'Ηγήσιππος is the only name that has not already been mentioned. He was a zealous adherent of the popular party. He had proposed the alliance with the Phocians and opposed the peace with Philip. The seventh in the order of the Demosthenic orations, On the Halonnesus, is now generally attributed to Hegesippus.— πάντες i. e. πάντες ol άλλοι, as some MSS. have it.

§ 76. του πολίμου refers to the resumption of hostilities w. Philip in 340 B. C. — dv ξχοις: what would be the form of the condition if expressed?—εἰ...είχες...ἀν...παρίσχου: cf. H. 895; G M T. 410; Cu. §§ 537, 538, 539: C. 631. Notice the shade of difference in the use of the tenses. — έπλο: cf. note § 9.

III. §§ 79-101. Dem. Justifies his Foreign Administration. Avraso, i. e. in the letter just read. Notice again the orator's happy transition from one topic to another: that Philip does not blame him is an indirect witness to his services to the state, wh. he proceeds to enumerate. — τί ποτ': the indef. ποτέ adds to the inquiry a certain tone of surprise or astonishment; somewhat like our, why in the world? — γεγράφει: the MSS. reading is γέγραφε or γέγραφεν, wh. gives an anomaly of wh. we cannot suppose the orator guilty. Bekk. reads έγραφεν, V. and W., after Droysen's emendation, γ' έγραφεν, Dind. has έγεγράφει. The omission of the augment, as in our text, in the plupf., is not uncommon when a long vowel or diphthong immediately precedes: cf. εῦ πεπόνθεσαν § 213; πολλαί πεπτώκεσαν, Thuc. I. 89; ἤδη τετελευτήκει, Xen. Anab., VI. 4. 11. With

¹ Since the remaining documents are generally even more unsatisfactory than those already examined, and as in many, if not most, of our American colleges these documents are wholly omitted in the study of the Oration, the editor has not thought it worth the while to make further annotations upon them.

our reading the sentence is: he would have made mention if he had written; with the reading έγραφεν: he would make mention (έμέμνητο used as an impf.) if he were writing, the speaker putting himself back to the time when Philip was writing his letter. — τούτων, sc. τῶν ἀδικημάτων. — ἀχόμην, I fastened myself to, as a determined foe. On these I fixed myself, Kenn.; grappled with, Wh. — τὴν...πρεσβείαν: Dem. was himself a member of this embassy, in 343 B. c. — παρεδύετο, was trying to steal into. The Peloponnesus was divided into factions, wh. Philip was insidiously stirring up against one another for the purpose of gaining a foothold for himself. It was through this embassy that the Peloponn. states were aroused to their danger, and Philip was prevented from invading their territory until after Chæronea. — τὴν εἰς Εδβοιαν: in the same year as the preceding. — τὴν...εξοδον: these expeditions came two years later (341); first Oreus was delivered and its despot, Philistides, slain; then Cleitarchus, despot of Eretria, was driven forth by Phocion.

§ 80. τους άποστόλους, the naval expeditions, alluding probably also to the improvements in the trierarchal law introduced by him, wh. are set forth in § 102 ff. Cf. πάντα τον πόλεμον των αποστόλων γιγνομένων κατά τον νόμον τον έμον, § 107. — καθ' ούς = almost δι' ών, per quas. For similar use of κατά cf. Thuc. I. 60; II. 87. "This use of κατά is somewhat rare, but may be viewed, perhaps, as expressing the accordance between the instrument and the result, the cause and the effect, like the adv. accordingly in certain cases." LARNED. - Xepporners: one of Philip's most cherished purposes was to gain possession of the Chersonesus, wh. at this time was partly in the power of Cersobleptes, king of Thrace and an ally of the Athenians. At first Philip contents himself with subjugating C. and occupying the strongest points in Thrace (§ 27). But in 340 B. c. Philip interferes in the contest of the Athenians w. the inhabitants of Cardia, formerly an Athenian dependency; this leads to an open rupture and to a formal invasion of the Chersonesus on the part of Philip. he turns to the Propontis to gain control of the straits that lead to the Euxine. But here his customary good fortune fails him; in vain he besieges Perinthus and Byzantium; the Athenian auxiliary force compels him to withdraw, and again the Chersonesus is free. — οί σύμμαχοι, sc. Tenedos, Proconnesus, etc. Cf. § 302. — τῶν άδικουμένων: gen. of the whole depending on τ ois $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$, τ ois δ' . — $\dot{\nu} \mu \dot{\nu} \nu \dots \pi \epsilon_i \sigma \theta \epsilon_i \dot{\sigma} \iota \nu$, to those who at that time followed your advice. — το μεμνήσθαι, και νομίζειν: subj. of περιεγένετο to be supplied.

§ 81. και μην introduces a strong asseveration, = and verily. — Φιλιστίδης...Κλείταρχος: cf. note § 79. — ὑπάρχειν ἐψ΄ ὑμᾶς, that the possession of these places might be in his hands for your injury. — ποιῶν ἡδίκει: the

addition of the partic. makes the expression emphatic. — $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi c \hat{v} = a n y$ -where. Cf. note on $\pi d \nu \tau \omega \nu$, § 5.

"This very technical use of καταλύεω is § 82. Katelvov, used to lodge. easily traced: the verb signifies (1) to unloose (sc. the sandals), (2) to rest, (3) to lodge; παρ έμοι γάρ Γοργίας καταλύει, Plat. Gorg., 447 B. The expression is common in Plato, but rare in the orators, who employ the word more commonly of dissolution, destruction, or termination. Holmes. mpoissvers, you were their public host. It was customary for envoys to be entertained by the πρόξενος of their city. The πρόξενος was a person appointed by the state to protect the interests of his fellow-citizens resident in foreign lands, quite analogous to our consul. Æsch. was not properly the πρόξενος of Eubœa, but acted as such. — έχθρους: notice the antithetic position of this word and φίλοι, and the emphasis on σοί. — ού τοίνυν... oider: however great the personal advantages I might have gained from selling my services to Philip and his partisans, I steadfastly opposed all their designs; and yet, notwithstanding this, you reproach me. — παύσα: Attic for παύση. — ἀτιμώσαντες, by disabling you, in a legal sense. If the prosecutor failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes he fell into drivia: i. e. besides incurring a fine of 1000 drachmæ, he was forever disabled from instituting a similar suit. Cf. Bæckh Pub. Econ. Athen., p. 492 ff; Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 734.

§ 83. in toutous, i. e. for the successful resistance Dem. offered to the schemes of Cleitarchus and Philistides. - ypáwavros: the gen. absol. seems to denote both time and concession here: although and when. τούτου γιγνομένου: all attempts to explain the reference of these words seem unsatisfactory. (1) Το make τούτου refer to the decree of Aristonicus as second in order is hardly possible, since nothing is said anywhere of any similar decree prior to this one, and because this interpretation would require γενομένου. (2) If τούτου refers to the decree of Ctesiphon, we meet with the following difficulties: (a) The word κηρύγματος cannot properly be used of the proposal of Ctes., wh. was as yet hardly a ψήψισμα. The κήρυγμα was the very thing Æsch. sought to prevent by his παρανόμων γραφή. (b) How can the agrists άντειπεν, έγράψατο be joined to this present idea? We must then read: and whereas the present is now the second proclamation in the theatre WHICH IS COMING OFF in my honor, Æschines, although present, neither SPOKE in opposition, etc. But "spoke" when? (c) By referring to § 223, it will be seen that the proposal of Ctes. was third in order, counting that of Demomeles and Hyperides as a single one. I can find no ground for Holmes's assumption that the crowns proposed by Aristonicus and by Ctesiphon were the only ones proclaimed in the theatre, and therefore this was second to that; against this supposition is the statement in § 223 in regard to the proposal of D. and H.: τάς αὐτάς συλλαβάς καὶ ταύτα βήματ' έχει, απερ πρότερον 'Αριστύνικος, νῦν δε Κτησιφών γέγραφεν οὐτοσί. (3) As the text stands (we believe it is corrupt for the additional reason that the art. τό is necessary, since we cannot say τοῦτό μοι γίγνεται δεύτερον κήρυγμα, but only τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται μοι δεύτερον), the following explanation suggested by V. seems most natural. a comparison w. §§ 222, 223 we conclude that Dem. had been crowned twice in the theatre before Ctes. made his proposal. (What Dem. says in § 120 refers in general to his coronations, most of wh. occurred in the ordinary localities, the Pnyx and the Senate-house). Now the first proclamation in the theatre was that of Aristonicus, and to this one τούτου γιγνομένου refers, but in this way : δεύτερον γίγνεσθαι = iterari, to be repeated; hence the entire sentence would read, and when this proclamation (sc. this one of Arist.) was made a second time in my behalf, which was done through Demom. and Hyper., whose proposal was couched in the very same terms, and was unsuccessfully attacked by Diondas. Decrees and other legal formulæ were often thus repeated in the same terms, the names of the parties concerned alone being changed. (4) W. suggests an excellent emendation, τοιούτου for τούτου, τοιούτου referring to the similarity of the phraseology employed in the decree of Demom. and Hyper. With this change we read: when therefore you crowned me at that time for these things ... and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre, yea, even when such a proclamation was being made for me already now a second time, Æschines, although present, neither spoke in opposition, nor indicted him who had proposed it. learner will observe that the partic. γιγνομένου has the time of the impf., to denote the continued existence of this proclamation, wh., unlike that of Aristonicus, was the occasion of a suit. That Æsch. did not object the first time, the orator lets pass by; but that he should have taken no notice of the second similar proposal, and still attack the proposal of Ctes., wh. is of the self-same import, this Dem. makes prominent in this muchdisputed sentence, as we understand it.

§ 85. συμβήσεσθα...στεφανώμαι: for this form of cond. sent. cf. H. 946, 898; G M T. 444, 689. 2; Cu. §§ 545, 548, last sentence; C. 631, 645. — ώς ετέρως = otherwise, euphemistic for κακώς. — τότε, sc. δταν ἢ νέα πράγματα, emphatic.

§ 86. ούκοῦν, accordingly; marking a conclusion. The οὐκ points to the preceding negative idea, οὐ μέμψεως, κ. τ. έ. What is the meaning of οὅκουν? — μὰν has no corresponding δέ, but the implied opposition to τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων is obvious. — πάντας, sc. τοὐς χρόνους, wh. most MSS. include in the text. — τῷ νικᾶν, dat. instrum., by the fact of my prevailing in speaking and proposing. — προσόδους, solemn processions. Cf. θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ, § 216. — ὡς... ὄντων, on the ground that, etc.



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87. volver: often used to resume the narration, like our well, then. τοῖς μὲν δπλοις, τῆ δὲ πολιτεία, with arms indeed by you, but through statesmanship and decrees by me. The instrum. is denoted by the dat., the agent by but w. genit. The critical student will notice an inversion in the order of the words υφ' υμών τοις δπλοις × τη πολιτεία υπ' έμου; this is intentional and gives variety. From the form of the letter X the ancient rhetoricians called it chiasmus. — Stappayion, even though some of these should burst: i. e. invidia vel indignatione. Diss. Kenn. quotes Virg. Eclog., VII. 26: Invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro. Tyler follows Wh. in taking it to mean, straining their lungs to contradict me. - tropov, i.e. alius generis. Schaef. - turnaxiophov: in § 71 we have entrelxiona. Reiske and Schaef. understand the allusion to be not to Byzantium, but to the control of the grain trade, wh. was to be to Philip an instrument of aggression different fr. the stronghold he had lost in Eubeea. — erecoarre: Beeckh Publ. Econ. Athen., p. 111, calculates the amount of grain annually imported at one million medimni. The main supply came from the region bordering upon the Pontus. — παρελθών, going along the coast. — αντώ: join w. συμπολεμεῖν. — ἐπὶ τούτοις, upon these terms. Dem. himself went on the embassy (cf. § 244) in 340 B. C. to persuade the Byzantines to resist Philip. He persuaded the Athenians to enter into an alliance w. Byzantium. When Philip saw not only the Athenians, but also the Chians, Rhodians, and Coans coming to the aid of Byzantium, he reluctantly withdrew. — xápaka: by synecdoche for χαράκωμα = a palisaded camp, a stockade. — μηχανήματ, having planted enginery.

§ 88. ἐπερωτήσω: ἐπερωτῶν means to ask a question again or besides (ἐπί), as something superfluous. — τὸ ὑμῶς, the word "you." Cf. Cu. § 379; C. 522 d. — τὴν πόλιν λέγω: this the orator adds in order to be able to say τῷ πόλει st. ὑμῶν in the next sentence, and thus to avoid the appearance of making himself out to be the leader and guide of his judges. — ἐπλῶς, in a word, altogether; it modifies the whole sentence. — δούς: so reads also Bekk., after the best MSS.; all other Editt. read διδούς, wh. denotes the time of the impf., the same as γράφων, πράττων. Reuter defends δούς as expressing in the way of a climax both a preterite and a perfect idea; i. e. who gave and has given; he also thinks the monosyllable forcible at the close of the period. V., on the contrary, objects that the ears of Dem. would never tolerate the two successive syllables δώς δούς. Dionys. Hal. cites the close succession of the four long syllables in ἀφειδῶς δούς ἐγώ as an instance of Dem. severity of style.

§ 89. S... Evera's modeless, i. e. the war between Philip and the Athenians, after the peace of 346 B. c. had been annulled. — Even = $\chi \omega \rho ls$, apart from, besides. — Ly magn rols... Blow, in all the necessaries of life. — The vor elements

νης, i. e. the peace after Chæronea, procured by Demades. — ήν...τηρούσιν: Dem. calls to mind the refusal of the Athenians, under the influence of the Macedonian party, to support the Peloponnesians in their revolt against Alexander. — of apportol: cf. note § 30. — ent tais meddourais edulour: the idea would be more logically expressed by έπι ταις των μελλόντων έλπίν σω, since the hopes are themselves present; but the orator chose this form of expression to correspond to της νῦν εἰρήνης. — διαμάρτοιεν: what use of the optat. here and in the following verbs? Cf. H. 870; GMT. 721, 722; Cu. § 514; C. 638. — δν = τούτων d: H. 996 a; Cu. § 598. 2; G. gr. § 153, N. 1; C. 554 and note. For the accus. & cf. H. 724; Cu. § 402; G. gr. § 164; C. 480 c. — μη μεταδοίεν: the asyndeton gives emphasis. δούναι = to give a share of, to impart; μετασχείν = to receive a share of, to share in. Most Editt. read και μη μετάσχοιεν, κ. τ. έ., wh., to say the least, makes the sentiment a harsh one. The omission of $\mu\eta$ with Σ and Laur. S gives a much nobler turn to the sentence. The orator utters then the prayer that these treacherous men may fail of realizing their hopes (wh. involve the destruction of their common country), and may enjoy freedom and independence in company w. those who seek to secure their country's highest good; and, on the other hand, that they may not impart to the commonwealth that ruin of public good wh. they have aimed at as a means to promote their own private interests. The thought underlying the whole passage is that the welfare of the state involves the welfare of the individual, and vice versa. Cf. Thuc., II. 60. 2; Soph. Antig., 188-190; Plato Legg., p. 875, A.

§ 93. ή προαίρεσις, κ. τ. έ., my policy and administration = the policy of my administration; an instance of hendiadys. Diss. remarks that this is a favorite expression w. Dem. Cf. §§ 192, 292, 317. Notice the rhetorical order wh. makes the object of the sentence more prominent. — καλοκαγαθίαν: this word may be translated honorableness, spirit of honor, generosity; Edelmuth (Jacobs). The mental characteristics of the καλός κάγαθός were honor, courage, magnanimity. Magnanimity, perhaps, best renders the word here, as contrasted with κακίαν = meanness.

§ 94. μεμψάμενοι...ἀν = ἐμέμψασθε ἀν: cf. G M T. 215; H. 987; Cu. § 595. 2; C. 658 a. — ἐν... χρόνοις, sc. when Byzantium joined Chios, Rhodes, etc., in the so-called Social War against Athens, 357 – 355 b. c. — ἀδικουμένους: how does ἀδικεῖν differ fr. ἀδικεῖσθαι in meaning? — σύμβουλον...βήτορα: though generals had often gained that honor for the state, he was the first one who was merely a statesman to achieve this.

§§ 95-101. Demosthenes cites Examples from Athenian History in Justification of his Foreign Policy. **Blacophylias... Theorem** ϕ and ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ are ϕ and ϕ are ϕ are



from the false accusations often brought for robbing the sacred fig-trees. Cf. note on συκοφάντης, § 112). - τῶν Βυζαντίων: Æsch. nowhere in his speech attacks the Byzantines; we must suppose this to be an interpolation, or, what is more probable, that Æsch. omitted this mention of the Byzantines fr. the revised edition of his oration, wh. he made in Rhodes, out of regard for the Rhodians who were the allies of the Byzantines. Cf. A. Schaef., III., Beilage III., p. 77. Cf. Introduction. — & T. st. 8 74, in case that, etc. - overas: H. 981? Cu. § 593; C. 677; G M T. 878 and 904; ὑπάργαν...είδότας: emphatic st. simply είδέναι, lit. you exist knowing. Cf. § 228: ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους. The partic. is used as a predicate adj.; cf. G M T. 830. — τφ...συμφέραν, but also from the fact that it was to your advantage so to conduct affairs as I have conducted them. — Kal' buas, in your day. Not to be taken too literally, as the battle of Haliartus, mentioned below, occurred in 395 B. c. — τη πόλα: dat. agent w. πεπραγμένων. -каl...каl...праттич, for it is proper both that a man in private and that a state in public should always endeavor to shape the future with respect to the most illustrious precedents of the past.

§ 96. apportais: these were the notoriously unpopular governors placed by the Spartans, during their supremacy, over their dependencies. The state of things described here is recognized as existing immediately after the close of the Peloponn. War. For explanation of these historical allusions let the student refer to Grote's, Thirlwall's, or Smith's History, and to Thuc., IV. 66, 74; VIII. 95; Xen. Hellen., II. 2. 3; Plut. Lysand., cap. 13, 14. — allas vijoovs, other islands, i. e. besides Eubæa and Ægina, as Lesbos, Samos, Melos. Cf. Xen. Hellen., II. 2. 5; 3. 6. It would seem more natural to have Alywar come just before άλλας νήσους. Many Editt. read τàs άλλας νήσους, wh. is interpreted either as an instance of the pleonastic use of ol allow = the rest, sc. islands (but against this is the mention of Ægina and Eubeea already made), or as meaning all the remaining islands (but the Lacedemonians did not obtain control of nearly all). W. accepts Dobræus's emendation, Κέω τας for Κλεωνας, and objects to Cleonæ as not being, like the rest, in the circle about Attica. — ναῦς...τείχη: the Athenian navy was limited to 12 ships, and the long walls were razed to the ground. — Κόρινθον: the Athenians joined an alliance of the Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives against Sparta. The allied forces were defeated in a battle fought near Corinth, 394 B. C., wh. circumstance gave the name Corinthian to a feeble war that lasted eight years and was terminated by the peace of Antalcidas. — dv exóvrov = dv eixov, might have borne many grudges. Cf. § 258, where aν έχων = aν έχοιμι; cf. GMT. 214. — τῶν πραχθέντων, for the things that were done; genit. cause. — τὸν Δεκελεικόν πόλεμον: the last part of the Peloponn. War was thus named from

§ 97. πέρας...τηρη: this passage has been much lauded by the ancient critics. Lucian in his Encom. de Demosth. compares it with Iliad, XIII. 322-328.— καν εν οικίσκω, even though one should shut himself up in a cage and keep watch. Harpoer. makes οικίσκω = μικρῦτωι οικήματι. Didymus in Harpoer. renders it δρειθοτροφείω, wh. may be the origin of the ludicrous interpretation of the Scholiast: "Man must die anyhow, even though he change his manner of life, and, fancying himself to be a bird, shut himself up in a bird-cage."— τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς...τὴν ἀγαθὴν, men that are good, the hope that is good; generic use of the article.— προβαλλομένους, casting before themselves, as a shield; cf. § 301. Professor Tyler calls attention to the same figure in Ephesians, vi. 16.

§ 98. πρεσβύτεροι: the events referred to occurred some 40 years before the delivery of this speech. — ἐπαδή: the unusual order of this sentence is occasioned by the emphatic position given to Λακεδαιμονίους. — Λεύκτροις: cf. note § 18. — διεκωλύσατε: in 369 B. c. the Thebans invaded Lacedæmon and threatened the destruction of Sparta, but were hindered by an Athenian force sent out under Iphicrates, and finally compelled to retire from Laconia. — ούδ'...διαλογισάμενοι, nor taking into account what those men had done for whom you were about to incur danger.

§ 99. και γάρ: και is used elliptically; and you did so, i. e. take no account of, etc. $\gamma d\rho$ is epexegetical, introducing the fuller statement of διαλογισάμενοι. - τούτων refers back to ότιοῦν used in a collective sense, and is genit. cause w. δργήν. — ύπολογιεῖσθε has for its original meaning reckon in the account. — ών = τούτων α: cf. note § 89. — Ευβοιαν: in 357 B. c. Eubœa was divided into two factions, one of wh, had called in the aid of the Thebans for overthrowing democratic institutions. By the aid of the Athenians the Thebans were driven out, and the old regime was reestablished. Cf. Æsch., § 85; Diod., XVI. 7. — 'Ωρωπον: Oropus, situated on the border between Attica and Bœotia, had long been a hone of contention between these two states. In 366 B. C. Themison and Theodorus, the despots of Eretria, w. aid of the Thebans seized the place, wh. then belonged to Athens. The question of right of control came before a court of arbitration, and was decided in favor of Athens. But the Thebans declined to give up Oropus. Hence arose the famous δίκη περί 'Ωρωποῦ;, cf. Diod., XV. 76; Xen. Hellen., VII. 4. 1. After Chæronea the possession of Oropus was guaranteed the Athenians by Philip. — ἐθελοντῶν...τριηραρχῶν, voluntary trierarchs, in addition to the regularly appointed trierarchs, who did not suffice for that year. On the office of the trierarchy vid. Dict. Antiq. and note § 102. — οὅπω, sc. εἰπεῦν μέλλω.

§ 100. Kal modifies the weaker idea of 70 σωσαι in contrast w. the stronger το αποδούναι. "Merely" expresses it very well. - την νήσον, i. e. Eubæa. — 70...arobogvas, in that when you had become established as masters of their persons and their cities you restored these rightfully to those who had themselves done you injury. - Katastártes: government? Cf. H. 940; G. gr. § 138, N. 8; Cu. § 570; C. 667. — brokoyurápevos is preceded in all the MSS. except in Σ, L, A2, by εν ols επιστεύθητε, wh. is probably a gloss from the corresponding passage in Esch., § 85. — Ths... ! Leverplas kal σωτηρίαs: most MSS. and Editt. place ένεκα either after or before Έλλήνων. ένεκα is, however, not essential. The constr. στρατείας ποιείσθαι της έλευθερίας is closely related to the constr. τοῦ Φωκέας ἀπολέσαι expressing purpose or object, and has underlying it the idea of price or value. Cf. de F. L., § 76: πάσ' άπάτη και τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περί Φωκέας δλέθρου. Larned remarks upon the periodic form of the whole statement concerning the foreign administration of the orator as follows: "He first speaks of what the honor of Athens required, §§ 62 - 72; he next sets forth his own actions as being in accordance with the demands of that honor, §\$ 73-94; he concludes w. what Athens had done in time past honorable to herself, §§ 95-100; thus uniting the whole topic in the one point of the honor of Athens."

101. etr': of succession of thought. — όπης αὐτης, κ. τ. ἐ., when the deliberation was in a certain sense in behalf of herself; in the cases cited it was in behalf of others. — τη Δία, yea verily; the ironical force is manifest. Cf. § 117. — ούκ ἄν ἀπέκτεινί... ἐπεχείρησα: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; Cu. § 537; C. 631 b. Some of the best MSS. have ἀν ω. ἐπεχείρησα. How would this modify the clause? Cf. G M T. 245 and 506. — λόγω μόνον, to tarnish by word only; for it could be tarnished in no other way. λόγω is in contrast w. ἔργον, and means simply by counselling. — el ἡβούλεσθε... ἡν: how does this cond. sent. differ fr. that noticed last?

IV. §§ 102-109. Domestic Administration. τούτων έξης, next in order to these just mentioned. — πάλιν αδ, once again. — καταλυόμενον, in a state of dissolution. — ἀτελείς, exempted; cf. ἀτελης τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν, Dem. c. Mid., § 155. — ἀπὸ, by the payment of. Diss. cites ἀπὸ σμικροῦ, Aristoph. Plut., 377. There were four forms of the trierarchy. In its original form every wealthy citizen was required to furnish the state one trireme. Throughout this earliest period, this duty was an object of ambition to the wealthiest citizens. Later, when the citizens were reduced in wealth, prob-

ably soon after the disastrous Sicilian expedition in 412 B. C., two were permitted to unite in a syntrierarchy. The system became gradually more inefficient, and in 357 B. c. came the third form. A law was enacted acc. to wh. the 1200 wealthiest citizens (120 fr. each tribe) were required to furnish and maintain the navy. These contributors (συντελείς), as they were called, were divided into 20 classes of 60 each, called συμμορίαι, and these classes were subdivided into companies of 15 each, and each company (συντέλεια) had the charge of one trireme. (In § 104 it is stated that 16 were found in each company; Bœckh supposes the 16th to be a kind of overseer or chief of the company.) But, in order to make the system more efficient, there was formed a smaller board, composed of the 300 richest men selected from the 1200. These were called the ήγεμόνες οτ έπιμεληταί τῶν συμμοριών, and constituted a general committee of administration. They advanced money, let out the contracts, made the purchases, etc., and levied the tax equally upon all their copartners. By this system every contributor paid exactly the same amount of tax irrespective of the amount of his income. It is easily seen how the rich, by shrewd management in letting out the contracts and apportioning the tax, might exempt themselves from any payment, and how inefficient a navy thus provided must become. The reform in the trierarchal law was proposed by Dem. as ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ in 340 B. C., and consisted in assessing every citizen according to his wealth. One trireme was to be furnished by every 50 talents of property value, or by every 10 talents rated, the rate being one fifth of the whole. The maximum that could be claimed from any one was three triremes and a tender. Cf. Bœckh. Publ. Econ. Athen., Book IV. - aroxλύοντας: so reads Σ; V. follows. All the other MSS. and Editt. (so far as I know) insert τὰ ὅντα before this partic. as its object. V. makes the partic. agree w. τους πλουσίους and govern τους...κεκτημένους, and translates: et cives mediocres aut tenues perdere. This form of expression receives support from the similar statement in § 104: τους δ' απόρους των πολιτών έπιτρίβουσιν. — tr. = præterea. — τῶν καιρῶν, missing its opportunitics, for want of promptuess.

§ 103. ἀγώνα: Holmes joins this word first w. γραφείs as a cognate accus. after passive const., and then again w. εἰσῆλθον. But most Editt. regard γραφείs as used absolutely. The entire expression is best rendered: and having been indicted I entered upon a trial of this kind (i. e. the same kind of trial as that wh. Ctesiphon is now undergoing, sc. γραφή παρανόμων) before you and was acquitted. Cf. εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, § 105. "Dicitur, ut coustat, εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἰσιέναι et de reo et de actore aut accusatore." Diss. — τὸ μέρος, sc. πέμπτον. The ordinal adj. is omitted, as here, in §§ 222, 250; but it is expressed in § 266. Cf. note on ἀτιμώσαν-

Tes, § 82. — Tods Sevtépous kal tpirous, the second and third ranks. after the γγεμώνες τῶν συμμοριῶν in the order of the valuation of their property. - Sibóvai, attempted to give, i. e. offered: an impl. de conatu. So édidosar, § 104. — et 82 mm, but if not, i. e. but if I should not μh $\theta \epsilon \hat{u}$ we can best translate it, but otherwise, as it expresses the alternative to Gove uh θείναι. Cf. H. 906; GMT. 478; C. 717 c. — tân to δπωμοσία: acc. to Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 285, the broupoola was a declaration under oath that one had the purpose to bring a γραφή παρανόμων against a decree or measure before the assembly for deliberation. The effect of this declaration was either to prevent the final vote by wh. a bill became a νόμος, or, in case the bill was already passed, to stay its operation until the complaint maparouser had been tried and decided in the proper court. In the midst of this process the author of a bill could drop it and leave it under affidavil or protest. — καταβάλλοντα: the more usual reading is καταβαλίστα, wh. is transl. by Kenn., having entered it in the public register (i. e. ἐν τῷ Μητρώς, where the public archives were kept). With this agree Bremi, Reiske, Holmes, et al. But this rendering is impossible w. our reading (pres. partic.), and one cannot let a bill go by default before it has been recorded. The transl., dropping it to leave it under protest, seems most in harmony w. the context. This view is preferred by Wh., Diss., W., V., et al.

§ 104. $f_{V} = i \xi \hat{\eta}_{V}$. — airois pèr... avalianova... èritplβeur: in appos. w. airois dependent on $\hat{\eta}_{V}$. ἐπιτρίβευν is similar to our English, to grind the faces of the poor. — purpà καὶ σόδὲν: our Engl. idiom has a disjunctive particle, little or nothing. — τὸ γιγνόμενον, the amount resulting by rate according to their property. — τιθέναι depends gramm. on $\hat{\eta}_{V}$, but logically on the idea of συνέβη contained in $\hat{\eta}_{V}$. — δυοίν, sc. τριηρών. This contribution would come from one who possessed property to the value of 100 talents, or 20 talents of ratable value. — τῆς μιᾶς, of the single one, that would have to be furnished in compliance with the old law. — δη, as I have said, viz. in § 103. — εδίδοσαν, cf. διδώναι, § 103.

§ 107. δοκῶ: the personal st. impers. const., as often; the 3d plur. to be supplied w. of πλούσιοι. — ἀν... ἐθέλαν = ἀν ἐθέλοιν. Cf. G M T. 214; H. 964; Cu. § 575. 1; C. 658. a. — τοῦ... ποιείν: gen. price, expressing purpose: for the sake of doing, to do. Notice how the order of the words gives emphasis to the contrast in μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι... μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι. — καθυφέναι: composition? Transl., to compromise, Kenn.; lit. to let slip in an underhand manner. — τῷ... σεμνύνομαι, pride myself upon or because of, w. dat. of cause; but the verb is more commonly followed by ἐπί. — τῷ πείραν ἰργφ δεδωκέναι, and upon the fact that it (sc. τὸν νόμον) has given proof of itself by actual experience. Cf. a similar expression in § 195. —

πάντα...πόλεμον: this refers, acc. to Grote, Cap. XC., to the entire period of hostility fr. the renewal of the war in August, 340 B. C., to the battle of Chæronea in August, 338 B. C.—tκετηρίαν: the suppliant was wont to place a wreath or twig, usually of olive, wound about with woollen bands, upon the altar of the deity whose favor was sought. The Scholiast informs us that there was an altar to Artemis in Munychia, to wh. seamen and trierarchs used to repair to offer their supplications and make known their grievances.— τῶν ἀποστολέων, the naval board, wh. had ten members, whose duty it was to superintend the affairs of the ἀπόστολοι.— ἐδέθη implies that they had the power of imprisonment.— καταλεφθάσα, abandoned, because of its slowness or unseaworthiness; ἀπολεφθή = left behind in port.— αὐτοῦ, here, i. e. in the harbor of Peiræus, as opposed to εξω = outside, at sea.

§ 108. έγίγνετο, were habitually occurring. — τὸ δ' αἰπον, lit. and as regards the cause; in apposition w. the following sentence; similar are σημεῖον δί, τεκμήριον δί. Cf. Dem. de Cherson., § 32. — ἐν...ἦν, lay upon. — τὰ ἀδύνατα, cases of inability, to furnish the required quota. — πάντ' ...ἐγίγνετο, accordingly all requirements were wont to be met. — δόξαι, κ. τ. ἐ.: the plur. expresses repeated instances of the renown, etc. — βάσκανον, κ. τ. ἑ.: "No sordid envy, no rancor, no malignity...and no meanness." Leland. For other instances of βάσκανος, a favorite word w. Dem., cf. §§ 119, 132, 242, 317.

§ 109. Ex... tols rank thy willy = home or domestic affairs as opposed to ev rois 'Eddperois = foreign affairs. — dord... ouphepower, in preference to the common interests of all the Greeks.

(c) §§ 110-119. The Question of Accountability. τοίνον, now then, to proceed. — το belongs to the whole sentence introduced by ωs, and is subj. accus. of δεδηλωσθαί. Transl., the statement that, etc. — μοι, dat. agent w. perf. pass. — το μέγιστό γε, the most important, with emphasis (from γε) on most. The orator alludes to the last contest w. Philip, wh. ended w. Chæronea. — ὑπολαμβάνων, supposing. ὑπολαμβάνων = sub ponere. — ἀποδοῦναι: why rather than δοῦναι? — ὁμοίως, equally, all the same, as though I had made mention of my remaining measures, in wh. case μοι below is dat. of int. w. ὑπάρχειν, exists for me. Cf. § 39. So Diss., Bremi, Wh., Jacobs, and most Editt. But some prefer to join ὁμοίως more directly w. μοι, in the sense of equally with me. Transl., nevertheless the consciousness of these facts exists as my witness in each of your hearts.

§ 111. τῶν...λόγων depends on τοὺς πολλούς, wh. is the obj. of both μανθάνειν and συνεῖναι. — ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν, sursum et deorsum permiscendo, V.; das Oberste and Unterste durch einander rührend, Jacobs; Holmes paraphrases it, in a bewildered medley. — παραγεγραμμένων νόμων:

NOTES.

in a $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ raparouse the prosecutor was obliged to publish in parallel columns the laws and the proposed measures that were attacked as contravening them. — States, especially of the administration of financial affairs.

§ 112. traypelaperos, having offered of my own accord. " δέδωκα in connection w. ἐπαγγειλάμενος amounts to ἐπιδέδωκα. On the subj. of ἐπιδόσεις (patriotic donations) cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq." HOLMES. — τῶν ἐννέα doxovrer: these are mentioned as being subject to the most rigid scrutiny for the discharge of their official duties. - φιλόδωρον, munificent, generous. φιλο in composition is active when it is the first, but passive when it is the second part of the compound; e. g. $\phi i \lambda d \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \sigma s = \text{loving man}, \theta \epsilon \dot{\phi} \phi i \lambda \sigma s$ = beloved of God. So φιλόδωρος = fond of giving. — τούς συκοφάντας, and to bring him before the Pettifoggers and to appoint these to audit his donations. The art. robs is used to point out an analogy to els robs hoysorás as the regular commission or board for auditing accounts. The opprobrious term συκοφάντης was applied to a class of men who made it their business to play the spy upon their fellow-citizens, in order that by threatening an accusation they might extort "hush-money" from violators of law, or levy "black-mail" upon innocent persons. For the etymology of the term cf. note on συκοφαντίας, § 95. But L. and Sc. in the 6th Oxford Edit. prefer the following, wh. seems to point directly to the actual use of the word: "one who brings figs to light by shaking the tree; hence one who makes rich men yield up their fruit by informations, and other vile arts." The comic poets, particularly Aristoph. (cf. Acharn., 818-828), hold this class of men up to contempt and ridicule. The term has been variously rendered: pettifogger, partisan, slanderer, informer. This and the following sections contain the άφυκτος λόγος of the orator, as Æsch. calls it. fallacy, however, is apparent. Dem. skilfully avoids the real issue. question was not whether Dem. should first give account of his donations, but of his administration; for such an account must first prove what he had thus far simply asserted, viz. that he had made bona fide donations, and not stolen fr. the state with one hand what with the other he had given as a pretended donation. To be sure, when this speech was delivered this point was fully proved; the accounts of Dem. had long ago been audited and approved; but at the time Æsch. made his complaint (some 7 years before) the charge of illegality on this score was technically just.

§ 113. τῷ θεωρικῷ: cf. note, § 55. — ἐπέδωκα, I gave a donation of money. ἐπιδιδόναι = lit. to give in addition to the amount due. The author of the Lives of the Ten Orators (Pseudo Plut., p. 846) places this donation at 10,000 drachmæ. — ἐπήνεσεν... ὑπεύθυνον: this is professedly quoted fr. the proposal of Ctes. The common reading inserts ἡ βουλή as

subj. of ἐπίνεσεν, but Σ omits this most properly, as V. remarks, since Esch. did not accuse the Senate, but Ctes. only. Observe that Dem. adroitly substitutes this verb (= ἐπαινεῖν ἔγραψε) for στεφανοῦν ἔγραψε. — οὐ περὶ τούτων, κ. τ. ἐ.: yes, but not (did he propose to laud me) on account of those things for which I was held responsible, but for what donations I made, O pettifogger! — τειχοποιός: cf. note § 55. — τάνηλωμένα, the money expended; this was, acc. to Esch. in the passage cited below, in addition to the 10 talents received fr. the state, the sum of 100 minæ fr. his own purse; but acc. to Lives of the Ten Oratt., p. 851, this sum was 3 talents. — δδὶ: i. e. Ctesiphon. The demonstrative ε has the deictic force = here present. So οὐτοσί below.

§ 114. Hoere, in vestris quidem moribus. Diss. "It was in their very natures not to require such a thing" (Larned), sc. as to give account of donations. Reiske, Schaef., Dind., prefer the reading εθεσω = customs, practices, as opposed to vbuois. Cf. § 275; Isocr. Panegyr., § 152: dan er τοῖς ήθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς διαμένουσιν. - Nauσικλής was leader of the forces sent to aid the Phocians in 352 B. C. Cf. Diod. XVI. 37. - 576: some Editt. read ore; but both the idea of time and of cause may be expressed by ore, and, while cause is natural as corresponding to io is above, time seems required w. the change of tense in έστεφανούντο. - Διότιμος: in Lives of the Ten Oratt., p. 844, he is called one of the leaders of the people, and in Arrian Anab., I. 10. 4, he is named as one of the statesmen whose surrender Alexander demanded. — Χαρίδημος: a brave soldier, leader of a mercenary force, who rendered the Athenians great service in their Thracian expeditions. Dem., in his Orat. c. Aristocr., §§ 151, 185, 188, speaks of his receiving a crown. — естефанобито: why this change of tense! Drake supposes that the perfect (ἐστεφάνωται, τετίμηται) denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living, the imperfect (ἐστεφανοῦντο) that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. But this supposition seems true only in case of Neoptolemus; at least of the others it is not known whether they were alive or dead. V. suggests that the perf. represents the act as completed, the impf. as customary. — Neoπτόλεμος: the rich man referred to in Dem. c. Mid., § 215. He was probably present; hence οὐτοσί. — ἔργων, sc. δημοσίων. — αν είη...εί... εξέσται... ύφέξει: to make a regular cond. sent., what forms would be required in the conditional to correspond to the consequent clause? How would this change affect the sense! - ideter, shall subjoin accounts, the prep. on denoting under or below; here in the sense of at the foot of his list of donations. The orator aims to show here that usage was on his side. The precedents he cites may have been exactly in point; but unless they were, his argument fails in so far as he does not prove, but simply assumes, that these men received their honors before they had rendered their account.



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§ 115. Towtons: dat. int. w. yeyernuéra: the very decrees passed in honor of these men.

§ 117. ols: supply τούτων as antecedent in the same constr. as τη̂s dρχ η̂s. — οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ, and therefore I am not either. The οὐκ in οὐκοῦν looks back to οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος just preceding, and implies an interrogatory, am I not oùx $\dot{v}\pi\epsilon\dot{v}\theta v v o s$? — $\tau \dot{u}\dot{v}\dot{u}$ $\dot{v}\dot{u}\rho ...\delta \dot{\eta}\pi o v$, for I presume I have the same rights w. reference to the same things as the rest of mankind. The sarcasm of this truism need hardly be pointed out. - inforca: the punctuation varies in diff. Editt., most placing a colon here and after hoxor and πρξα. But to put these statements as suppositions in the interrogatory form seems very suitable to the idea. Have I given donations? (very well), for this I am praised, etc. The same is true of §§ 198, 274. — oix ών: the parts. is causal: while or since I am not. — Εδωκα = ἐπέδωκα. "The simple verb may follow after the more complete form." V. - Second: this was true at the time he said it, but not when the suit was first brought, 7 years before. — νη Δί', άλλ', yea, verily, but did I discharge my official duties in an unjust manner? A more forcible form of introducing an objection than the more usual άλλά νη Δία. — εἶτα gives a certain degree of surprise and indignation to the inquiry. — είσηγον, sc. είς τὸ δικαστήριον. W. understands this, not of leading into court to answer charges of unsatisfactory accounts, as Diss. seems to take it, but of the presentation of the accounts already audited and approved by the Logistæ to the general court for confirmation; at this time any citizen might bring in a complaint for malfeasance or fraud, in response to the customary invitation : ris κατηγορείν βούλεται; Cf. Meier and Schöm., p. 103. — οὐ κατηγόρεις: most Editt. punctuate, as this, with a mark of interrogation, but translate as if τi or $\delta i \hat{a} \tau i = why?$ preceded. Voem. objects to this punctuation on the ground that thus we get the opposite sense (did you not accuse me? meaning yes) to what is intended. But this is not necessarily the sense. statement receives a sarcastic force from the interrogative form : you did not accuse me? Doubtless, the orator's tone of voice more clearly indicated this sarcasm, as also in the preceding νη Δί... πρξα. Cf. Dem. de F. L., § 25: είτα τότ' οὐκ Ελεγες παραχρημα ταῦτα οιίδ' ἐδίδασκες ἡμας;

§ 118. ἐστεφανῶσθαι: to be understood of the proposal to crown. — ols ... τοῦ προβουλεύματος: "the construction is τούτοις γὰρ τοῦ προβουλεύματος & οὐκ ἐγράψατο, for by those parts of the preliminary resolution which he has not indicted it will be clearly proved that he is malicious in those which he does attack." Wh. To make the attack upon a part and not upon the whole of this transaction is a proof of malicious intent.

§ 119. φησιν ή βουλή: the Senate had adopted the proposal of Ctes. Cf. note, § 9. — παρανόμων γράφη, you indict as illegal. παραν. is genit.

crime or charge. — obx & rowers: the art. & is used generically, to designate one of a class, not such an one? The orator is foud of winding up a division of his speech by some such sharp appeal as this. Cf. §§ 52, 101; de F. L., 66. In comparing the parallel argument of Æsch. we notice an anticipation of one point wh. Dem. does not touch upon, sc. that his office does not fall within the intent of the law of accountability, since it is not a regular magistracy (ἀρχή). From the silence of Dem. we must infer either that Æsch. inserted this argument in the later edition of his oration, or that Dem. judged it unwise to attempt any refutation. The answer of Dem. to this second count of the indictment is generally regarded as unsatisfactory, at least when taken from a strictly legal standpoint. the law requiring the incumbent of an office to give in the account of his administration prior to his receiving any public honor may have become obsolete, it is impossible to say; that it had often been disregarded before, seems quite probable from what we know of the irregular and imperfect character of Athenian administration. And hence Dem. may have felt it quite safe to leave this point of the case out of view, as likely to be overshadowed by the argument showing the unreasonableness of being obliged to give an account of one's donations to the public service.

(d) §§ 120-122. The Place of Proclamation. μυριάκιε μυρίους: a rhetorical exaggeration; yet not so great as might be, judging fr. the statements of Æsch. — πολλάκις...ἐστεφανῶσθαι: notice the change in the phraseology (στεφανῶν st. κηρύττεω), and cf. note, § 83. — σκαιὸς = pertecrse. — τοῦ δὲ...συμφέροντος: "etsi vero non dubium veram causam rei fuisse, ut etiam exterorum quam plurimi coronatos cives et urbem talium civium matrem admirarentur, Demosthenis ingenium agnoscas in eo, quod pulchriorem interpretationem proponit." Diss. The same motive is appealed to by Æsch. c. Cles., § 177 ff., and by Lycurg. c. Leocr., § 10.

§ 121. πλην... ἀναγορευέτω is a direct citation fr. the law. — ψηφίσηται, sc. ἀναγορεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρφ. — ἀναγορευέτω, sc. ὁ κήρυξ. The argument upon the third count of the indictment may be summed up thus: (1) Æsch. claims that the place of proclamation is fixed by law as follows: crowns awarded (a) by the people must be proclaimed in the Ecclesia; (b) by the Senate, in the Bouleuterion; (c) by the committee of the deme or tribe, in the deme or tribe meeting. (2) Dem. claims that the proclamation of any crown may be made in the theatre on the vote of the people or of the Senate. (3) Æsch., anticipating this statement, argues that the proclamation in the theatre under special vote applies only to the crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by foreign states. As the claim of neither can be confirmed by genuine proofs, we are unable to decide this disputed point. Most critics hold that Æsch. is here also, as in the matter of accountabil-



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ity, technically in the right; yet that it is manifestly improbable that the proposal of Ctes, would have been accepted by the Senate, had not usage been on his side. But Westermann and others call in question the truthfulness of Æsch. representation, that the Athenian people had voluntarily and wholly cut themselves off from the privilege of proclaiming in the theatre the honors they themselves conferred, while permitting this very thing to be done in the case of crowns awarded by foreigners; and they believe Esch. guilty either of perverting the so-called Dionysiac law, or of suppressing that most essential clause cited by Dem. This opinion finds support in the language of Dem.: νόμους μεταποιών, τών δ' άφαιρών μέρη. But this again is the very charge Æsch. brings against Dem. Cf. infra: xonσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ, κ. τ. έ. — Ελλεβορίζας, purge with hellebore. as a cure for insanity. — αlσχύνη...εlσάγειν...μεταποιών...άφαιρών : many Editt. read eisáyur. Ordinarily, what is the diff. between the partic. and the infin. after αlσχύνομαι? Cf. H. 986; G M T. 903. 1; Cu. § 594; C. 657 k. A similar mingling of partic. and infin. without any apparent diff. in the sense, occurs in Xen. Cyrop., V. 1, 21. 22. Transl., you are not even prevented through shame from introducing, and you are not ashamed to alter and to garble. - \$66000: genit. cause, denoting the motive. - dounthuaros, for any misdeed; genit. cause, denoting the charge or crime.

§ 122. τῶ δημοτικῶ: a sarcastic allusion to the words of Æsch. given below. — έχοντα agrees with αὐτὸν to be supplied as obj. of κομιζόμενος. λόγφ, by description or definition, as opposed to πράγμασι... πολιτεύμασι, and in allusion to the terms of the συγγραφή. Some render it incorrectly, by their speech, wh. would require τ ο λόγφ οτ τοῦς λόγοις. — τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ...γιγνωσκομένους: change of constr. after ωσπερ fr. nom. (ἐκδεδωκώς) to accus. absol. Cf. § 276; GMT. 853; H. 974; Cu. § 588; C. 675 d. - βητά και άρρητα = lat. dicenda et tacenda; "names mentionable and unmentionable." Wh, "Billingsgate, as the Londoners would say." Kenn. — ἀμάξης: in allusion to the custom of the Athenians to revile and banter one another in most unbecoming language, while they were riding in open carts or wagons at the celebration of the Anthesterian festival, particularly on the second day, the Xbes. Vid. Dict. Antiq. Dionysia. Cf. note on mountelas, § 11. This same practice was in vogue among the Athenian women at the Thesmophoria. Cf. Creuzer's Symbol., 1V. 462.

(e) §§ 123-125. Transition to the Third Division of the Oration. και τοῦτο, this also, sc. let me say, in addition to the statement introduced by και βοᾶs above. — ξχαν, has to do with, involves. — λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, κ. τ. ξ., but calumny involves defamations, which foes chance to utter against one another in harmony with their own proper spirit. Cf.

note on § 10. With this cf. Cic. pro Cal., 3. 6: "Sed aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi præter contumeliam."— ὑπείληψα: we say in Engl., I take it that, expressing an opinion resulting from previous reflection.— ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων = ex vita privata, to be joined w. κακῶς λέγωμεν.— τὰ ἀπόρρητα, things forbidden, hence disgraceful scandals. Dem. has special reference to the scandalous personalities of Æsch., § 171 ff.

§ 124. otder httor kmod = dmolws kmol. — womever = λ 0180per. Cf. note on vomelas, § 11. — otder kvasta, not even here, i. e. in these personalities. — that of the subj. ? Cf. G M T. 287, 289; H. 866, 3 c; Cu. § 511; C. 647. — hv = $\xi\xi\eta\nu$. — indep to trave: in behalf of these, so the Athenian citizens. — it mer holkour: if in fact I did wrong, as by the form of the condition he assumes. — if the first, you repeatedly neglected to do so, so $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsiloni\nu$ diky.

§ 125. άθφος, stand clear by every consideration. — τφ χρόνφ, by the time, i. e. wh. elapsed since the accusation was first made, nearly 8 years. - Th mpolecula, by the statute of limitation. Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 636, state that 5 years was the limit allowed for bringing prosecutions in cases of indebtedness, recovery of estates, etc. The γραφή παρανόμων could be brought against the author of a decree only within the limit of a year after its proposal; later than this, the decree could still be attacked, but not its author. Ctesiphon, whom Dem. represents, was therefore do quos $\tau \hat{\eta} = \pi \rho o \theta \epsilon \sigma \mu l a$. — $\tau \hat{\phi} = \kappa \kappa \kappa \rho l \sigma \theta a l \ldots \pi \rho \delta \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$: Diss. makes this refer to the prosecutions by Diondas (§ 222), and by Patrocles for the trierarchical law (§ 105). — τη πόλει δ', κ. τ. έ., but (where) the state must needs share more or less in the reputation connected with my public transactions, there have you encountered me! The enthymeme contained in this section may be stated thus: Æsch. professes to be the enemy of Dem.; but his prosecution is so conducted that it can result only in injury to the state; ergo, he is the enemy of Dem. only in name, but of the state in fact. The student will recollect that this same charge of being dishonest as an accuser was made by Dem. against his rival at the outset of his speech (§§ 12-16). There, as here, this charge rests on the fact that Æsch. prosecuted so long after the alleged crimes had been committed, that now they could not be properly punished even if proved; but there the conduct of Æsch, is explained as due to personal hatred, here as influenced by a purpose to injure the state. With this sharp reproach, the orator concludes what may be regarded as his defence, and proceeds to the attack.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 126-323. Strictures on the Personal Character and Public Career of Æschines, and Review of his own General Policy. (a) §§ 126-131. Personal Character of Æschines as an Orator and a Man. (b) §§ 132-323. The Career of Æschines as a Citizen and Statesman contrasted with that of Demosthenes.

(a) §§ 126-131. Secural, has been indicated to all, sc. by his preceding arguments. The quiet assurance of the orator, as if certain of his case, probably suggested to the ancient critics the idea that a burst of applause followed his last sentence, wh. he interpreted as a clear proof of his acquittal. We may well believe that the orator had more convincing, if less palpable, tokens than this of his power over his auditors. - & introduces an anasoluthon. The apodosis that would regularly follow έπειδη τοίνυν... δέδεικται, is suppressed under the influence of passion. (Cf. Hermog. Περλ 'Ιδεων, II. p. 342.) V. supposes that the orator, had he spoken calmly, might have expressed himself thus: γρη περί σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ δέ, τοῦ πρώτου μνησθώ. But it is only after a vehement outburst of passion (in §§ 127, 128), called forth by the invective of Æsch., that the orator proceeds (in § 129) to speak of the personal history of his opponent, without regard to the structure of his previous period. — βλασφημίας should regularly come after elphuéras, but is placed before it for the sake of rhetorical emphasis. Similar are την τότε...δύξαν υπάρχουσαν, § 98, τους άνθρώπους αφικνουμένους, § 201, $τ\hat{\eta}$...αρχ $\hat{\eta}$ πραττομένη, § 293. W. — αντά = by themselves, alone. Cf. § 168. As Æsch. before occasioned the self-laudation of Dem., so now he is blamed for the personal invective uttered by his rival. We could wish that Dem. had magnanimously refused to follow the example of Æsch. in this regard. — τίνων = έκ τίνων. — διασύρει: Cf. note on διέσυρε, § 27. — μετρίων has the same sense here as in § 10.

§ 127. Alakos, κ. τ. έ.: the three judges in Hades, who were regarded as models of stern and inflexible justice. — σπερμολόγος: Deriv.? For the meaning Schaef. cites Eustath. Hom. Odyss., p. 1547: εἶδός ἐστιν ὁρνέου λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα· ἐξ οῦ οἱ ᾿Αττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων φασὶν ἀναρρέοντα καὶ διαζὴν ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλῆσιν καὶ οἱ οὐδενὸς λόγου άξιοι. "A retailer of second-hand and second-rate information. Holmes. The Athenians applied the same epithet to the Apostle Paul, Acts xvii. 18. — περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, a hack of the market; this term answers very nearly to our police-court pettifogger. — δλέθρος: the subst. used as an adj.; a wretch of a clerk. Cf. ἀνθρώπους δλέθρους, Dem. c. Aristocr., § 202;

όλέθρου Μακεδόνος, Phil., III. 31. Æsch. had been at one time the clerk of some of the petty magistrates. Cf. § 261.— & τραγωδία: Cf. note on έτραγ έδει, § 13.

§ 128. κάθαρμα, scum, offscouring (fr. καθαίρευ). — fix τῶν...οἰδέν, when no one of those who have really enjoyed it (fix) would use any such expression concerning himself. The relat. clause fix...τετυχηκότων performs the function of connecting this and the preceding sentence. — κάν ἐτέρου λέγοντος: give the equivalent conditional clause in Greek to correspond to ἐρυθριάσειεν. — τοῦς...ἀπολειφθεῖσι, to those destitute of it (sc. παιδείας). — ὑτ' ἀναισθησίας, through stupidity; aus Blödsinn, Jacobs; to be joined w. προσποιουμένοις. They are simpletons who suppose that they can pass for educated men by simply making a pretence to education. — τὸ...ποιείν... τὸ...δοκείν, subj. of περίεστω. Transl.: there results that they cause those who hear to be in pain, whenever they speak, (but) not that they appear to be such persons (as they pretend). τοιούτοις is attracted fr. the accus. in the predicate w. είναι to agree w. προσποιουμένοις. Cf. συκοφάντη, § 266.

§ 129. τοῦ = τίνος: how governed? — Τρόμης: the Schol. thinks the father of Æsch. may have had the position of assistant in the school of Elpias. In de F. L., § 249, Dem. speaks of Tromes as himself διδάσκων γράμματα. Cf. A. Schaef. I. p. 191. — χοίνικας...ξύλον, stocks, leg-irons. ... wooden collar. These were instruments of torture to punish refractory slaves. - medymeprivois yamois, by means of midday prostitutions. "Significatur igitur imprimis flagitiosa vita, quæ ne noctis quidem tenebris se occultaret." Diss. In regard to these reproachful personalities we remark substantially w. Schaef. I. p. 197 ff.: from Dem. de F. L., §§ 200, 249, 281. it appears that the mother of Æsch. was of Athenian birth, and a priestess, but guilty of gross conduct in the discharge of her priestly office. representation, therefore, of Dem. is, to say the least, exaggerated. disgusting personalities have much the same character as the personal satire of comedy. To arrive at the degree of their truthfulness we must sift them of all intentional exaggeration, and view them in somewhat the same light as the mockery and satire wh. Aristophanes heaped upon Cleon, Euripides, and Socrates. What we find therein to censure, we must charge to the account, not so much of the individual orator, as of the perverted taste that took delight in the utmost license of speech upon the bema no less than upon the stage. — πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτη ήρω, near the hero Calamites, i. e. near his statue. Commentators have generally understood this as referring to the same locality designated in de F. L., § 249, as πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ήρω τοῦ Ιατροῦ, and Voemel and Westermann have identified this Herophysician with the Scythian named Toxaris, who is mentioned by Lucian, Scyth. I. This Toxaris, acc. to Lucian, lived in Athens as the friend of

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Solon, was buried in the Ceramicus, and subsequently deified and worshipped as the "Stranger-physician," in the belief that through advice given by his spirit the plague was stayed in Athens. The true explanation of Kalaultus (wh. has been made to mean by some probe-man or surgeon, by others reed-man, as the patron of flogging schoolmasters!) has been found, doubtless, by Professor Goodwin, whose interpretation we take from Vol. IV. Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1873. "His monument [sc. the physician's] existed in a mutilated state in Lucian's time, representing a Scythian bowman with a strung bow in one hand and a book in the other. Now kalamit us can mean bowman (or, more exactly, arrowman), as κάλαμος very often means an arrow of reed. It will then be simply an equivalent for Scythian, and it will be remembered that the police of Athens were called both Σκόθαι and τοξόται." This monument was a relic of antiquity even in the time of Dem., and he refers to it as marking a well-known locality. Recent discoveries seem to place it not far from the Theseum. — τον καλον ανδριάντα, the handsome puppet. Acc. to Diss., a sarcastic allusion to the fine figure of Æsch., and to his repose of manner in speaking. Cf. de F. L., § 255. — TPITAYWVIGTTYV: cf. §§ 209, 262, 265.

§ 130. ταῦτα, i. e. relating to his parentage. — οἰδὶ γὰρ...ἀλλ' καταρᾶ-TOW: none of the various explanations of this sentence, wh. I give in the order of my preference, seems wholly satisfactory. (1) Join the sentence closely to ἐάσω: I disdain to speak more about his parentage, for that was not his parentage to which he laid claim by a happy circumstance (this circumstance is the manœuvre by wh. he became the child of apparently respectable Athenian citizens, and is described in δψέ γάρ, κ. τ. έ., below), but his family was such as the people curse, i. e. slaves by descent, who had managed to creep into citizenship. The presumption is that such characters were included in the curse pronounced by the herald in opening the meeting of the Assembly. (2) Quite a large number of critics take &r ETUYET as equivalent to Tur TUXOTTWY and as masc., and read : he did not spring from ordinary people, but from those, etc. (3) V. understands he not of descent, but of belonging to as a class; neque enim unus ex iis erat, quorum erat casu, sed ex iis, etc. The sense, acc. to this view, is that while Æsch. was of low parentage by chance, he was of base and accursed companionship by choice. Cf. §§ 282, 297. (4) Diss. takes we and ols as neuter and a βεβίωκεν as subj. of ην, and reads: for his acts were not of an ordinary sort, but such as the people execrate. — όψε γάρ ποτε, κ. τ. ε., for it is quite recent - recent, do I say? nay, (nev our) yesterday only or the day before. — Tpómpros, Tromes = the trembler, would be a fitting name for a slave; Atrometus = the dauntless, has a superior ring to it. - Thaukobian: Apollonius says in the biography of Æsch. that his mother was named by some Γλανκίs; add to this that Æsch. (de F. L., § 78), speaks of his mother's brother as Γλαῦκοs, and we may fairly infer that her real name was Glaucis, wh. was lengthened to do honor to the superior station of her son. So Lucian represents the old cobbler Simon, when he had become rich, lengthening his name to Simonides.— Εμπουσαν was the name of a goblin wh. had the ability to assume all sorts of shapes. Aristoph. Ran., 288 ff., describes this monster.

§ 131. km: "instead of; as coming out of one state into the other. The idiom is very common. Cf. Soph. O. T., 454; Antig., 1093, etc." Holmes.— ούχ δπως... ἀλλὰ, not only not ... but; without the usual και after ἀλλά, as in Lys. 30. 26: ούχ δπως ὑμῖν τῶν αὐτοῦ τι ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολλὰ ἀφήρηται. Cf. H. 1035 a; Cu. § 622. 4; C. 717 g.— ἄρα, forsooth; ironical. Cf. § 22. Point out the antithesis between this and the next sentence. As in the opening of his speech the orator defended himself first against the attacks upon his private life, so here he has directed his attack first upon the private life of Æsch. Since he treats this topic afterward at greater length, it seems as if it were introduced here for the sake of giving unity and symmetry to the structure of the oration.

(b) §§ 132-323. I. §§ 132-139. THE SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF ESCHINES IN RELATION TO ANTIPHON, TO PYTHON, AND TO ANAXINUS. &ποψηφισθύντα, disfranchised. In 346 B. C., a general examination (δια-ψήφισις) of the registries of citizens took place for the purpose of testing the validity of the claim to citizenship. Among many others, Antiphon was stricken from the list (ἀποψηφίσεσθαι). In revenge for this disgrace he offered his services to Philip. — δν λαβόντος, κ. τ. ἐ.: the constr. of this sentence is very similar to ἢς τῶν μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., in § 128. — ἄνεν ψηφίσματος, without a warrant. "An Athenian's house, like an Englishman's, appears to have been his castle wh. could not be entered without legal warrant for that purpose, wh. Dem. did not in this case possess." Wh. Cf. Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 588.

§ 133. ἡ & 'Aρείου πάγου: the famous court of Areopagus had the right in cases of extreme danger, such as conspiracies against the state, at least to order arrest and to institute legal examination. When Antiphon was discharged by the Assembly, the Areopagus arrested him again and delivered him up for trial to the Heliastic court. Cf. Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 344.— ἐν οὐ δέοντ, at an inopportune, ill-timed juncture.— καὶ τὸ δίκην, κ. τ. ἑ., and slipping through the hands of justice, would have been sent out of the way by this fine-spoken gentleman.— στρεβλώσαντες: torture was applied by the Athenians either for extorting testimony or as a means of punishment; to slaves without any preliminary legal process, but to citizens only on the special decree of the Assembly.

§ 134. σύνδικον, advocate. — ύπὸρ τοῦ ἰφοῦ: the Athenians had long contended w. the Delians for the control of the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos. In 343 B. c. the Delians brought the affair for decision before the Amphictyonic council. The patriotic party at Athens, desiring greatly the election of an anti-Macedonian as advocate (since Philip had great influence in the council), contrived to transfer the election from Æsch. to Hyperides in the manner described. - προσείλεσθε: so read Dind., Bekk., Lipsius, after the conjecture of Wolff, contrary to the MSS, wh. have προείλεσθε. προσαιρείσθαι = to take to one's self in addition; hence, you had associated with you also that body (kåkelvyv) in addition; i. e. the Senate and Assembly invited the Arcopagus to co-operate with them; otherwise, the Areopagus would have had no right to rescind the vote by wh. Æsch. had been elected. προαιρείσθαι = to choose before or instead of; hence, you had selected it to act for you, i. e. delegated it. The chief difficulty of the latter reading lies in ral (in rarelyny), wh. is then best joined w. what follows. - Υπερείδη: one of the ten Athenian orators, and a prominent anti-Macedonian leader. Persuaded by his much-lauded λόγος Δηλιακός (cf. Sauppe, Il. 285 ff.), fragments of wh. only remain, the council decided in favor of the Athenians. — ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: the most solemn method of voting was to place the ballots $(\psi \hat{\eta} \phi o \iota)$ upon the altar for consecration preparatory to depositing them. The earliest instance of this usage is found in Herod., VIII. 123: Διένεμον τας ψήφους έπι του Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ

§ 135. μελλοντος λέγειν is the reading of Σ as corrected by a later hand (the original being partly erased), and of most MSS. V. and Dind. read λέγοντος, wh. Holmes takes as an impf. and strangely renders: when he was going to speak. The genit. absol. constr., st. τοῦτον μέλλοντα λέγειν obj. of dπήλασεν, gives more prominence to this clause. Cf. Xen. Anab., I. 4, 12; II. 24; Thuc., I. 114. — οὐκοῦν: the force of οὐκ and οὖν is clearly noticeable here: when, therefore,...then it showed him to be, etc. (did it not?).

§ 136. Ev μèν, κ. τ. έ., This one transaction, therefore, of this fine young fellow was of such a nature; similar of course, for why not? to those, etc. εν as opposed to ετερον below. — νεανίου refers not to age, for Æsch. was at this time more than 45 years old, but to the arrogance and violence of youth. — Πύθωνα: a noted orator who served in 343 B. c. as the advocate of Philip in an embassy to Athens, in relation to the maintenance of the peace of Philocrates. All the information we have concerning Python's speech on the subject before us is found in the oration on the Halonnesus (§§ 18-23). This oration was formerly attributed to Dem., but is now believed to have been written and delivered by Hegesippus, a coadjutor of

Dem. on this occasion. — **rollo plower**, in the full torrent of speech. per is often used of speech. So in Aristoph. Eq., 526, 527; Hor., Sat., I. 7, 28, has "salso multoque fluenti."

§ 137. perd rails' isrepor: thereupon (relative time), later (absolute time).—'Araf(rop: a Eubœan who came to Athens about 340 s.c., probably while the preparations for the expedition to Oreus were in progress (cf. § 79), ostensibly to make purchases for Olympias, the queen of l'hilip. Dem. pays no attention to the reproach of his rival.— páros páro: the skilful collocation of the words in this sentence brings out the sense very forcibly.

§ 138. καὶ γὰρ: an instance of the frequent elliptical use of καί. — οῦτω πῶς, somewhat as follows. — ἔτι = præterea. — ἔν: attracted fr. the accus into the case of τούτων. — ὑπηρετῶν... ἐπηρεάζων is an instance of play upon words of similar sound. — εἰς ἀκριβή μνήμην, these things are not treasured up by you for accurate remembrance; the εἰς indicates the aim or object. — οὐδ' ἡν προσήκεν ὁργὴν, nor for proper resentment. For the constr. cf. H. 995; Cu. § 597; G. gr. § 154; C. 553. — ὑποσκελίζειν: a colloquial word. Deriv.? — ἀνταλλαττόμενοι, bartering away in exchange for. Where has Dem. spoken of this before? — διόπερ ῥᾶόν, κ. τ. ἐ.: the same sentiment is expressed in a less vigorous way in Phil., III., § 55: ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἡ τοῦς ὑπῶν λέγουσιν.

§ 139. To utv... συναγωνίζεσθαι is subj. of δεινόν (έστίν) and has answering to it the sentence $d\lambda\lambda'$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$, κ . τ . $\dot{\epsilon}$. — $\pi\rho\delta$ τοῦ $\pi\circ\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ Γν refers to the renewal of hostilities w. Philip after the dissolution of the peace, in 340 B. C. - πως γάρ ου: parenthetic, as οὐ γάρ in § 136. - τὰ πλοία: cf. note § 73. — Χερρόνησος: cf. note § 80. — έπι την 'Αττικήν, upon Attica. alludes to the invasion of Locris, 339 B. C., when Philip seized Elatea (cf. § 169); before this no direct march upon Attica had been attempted by Philip. — Bárkavos: in what other connections has this word been used? — laμβαογράφος, writer of iambics; a contemptuous allusion to Æsch. as a poetaster and playwright. The older Editt. read laμβειοφάγος = iambic cater, i. e. mouther of iambics, referring to his had recitation of iambics as an actor; but w. this the word βάσκανος and the context (οὐδ' ἔστω...ψήμισμα) do not so well harmonize. Besides, V. has shown that laμβειογρά- ϕ os is the true reading of Σ , and cites as corroborative testimony Æsch. c. Timarch., § 136: περί δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν φασίν οδτοί με πεποιηκέναι, τὰ μέν ὁμολογῶ, τὰ δ' έξαρνοῦμαι μη τοῦτον έχειν τὸν τρόπον δν οδτοι διαφθείροντες παρέξονται. — εν τῷ εμῷ υδατι = during the time allotted me. party to a suit had a given portion of time allotted him, wh. was measured by the water-clock (κλέψυδρα, cf. Dict. Antiq.). To offer an opponent the opportunity to speak "in one's water" was to challenge all contradiction.



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This phrase explains the joke at the sobriety of Dem., sc. that other men spoke by water, he composed by it. — airov: subj. of some such word as alocioθaι to be supplied and depending on ardykn έστιν. - Εχοντ'...[ητοῦν-Ta: the partice, have a strong causal force here. -- waod rave', contrary to these. Is there any escape from the dilemma of the alternative here presented; if so, what?

II. §§ 140 - 159. THE PART WHICH ÆSCHINES PLAYED, AS THE HIRELING OF PHILIP, IN PROVOKING THE AMPHISSIAN WAR. GOTTO ούδ' έγραφεν looks back to ούδ' έστιν ψήφισμα ούδεν Αίσχίνη, § 139. — ού μεν οδν, nay, no one clee had a chance to say anything. — τὰ μεν άλλα: as contrasted w. & d'. - indapyúsaro: what is the force of in composition ! — ἐπέθηκε τέλος, gave the finishing stroke. — τῶν 'Αμφισσέων = περί τῶν 'A. So in Thuc., Ι. 140: τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. — τῶν Λοκρῶν: the reverse order would be more natural: the Locrians (generic), sc. the Amphissians (specific). Amphissa belonged to the Ozolian Locrians. - 70, this affair, i. e. the one alluded to above in & &', k. 7. &. This demonstrative pronominal use of the article, belonging originally to the Epic dialect, is occasionally found in the prose as well as the poetry of the best Attic period. Cf. Plato Phad., 87 c; Soph. Trachin., 1172. See Kühner's Gramm., § 247.3. — exvivy, wash off. The metaphor is familiar to all languages:

> "Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood Clean from my hand?' SHAKESPEARE, Macbeth, II. 2.

orre is the emphatic word. However much you may say, that you will not accomplish.

§ 141. Kal, and especially. This solemn invocation, wh. reminds us of § 8, the orator justifies in the next paragraph. The divinity invoked is Apollo, because he is the one most directly concerned in the transactions that are now to be discussed. — πατρφός: "The ancient Attic king Ion was called the son of the Pythian Apollo, probably in consequence of the Ionians having adopted the worship of that deity from the Dorians, and the Athenians had πατρ μαι θυσίαι at Delphi." Wh. But this opinion that the worship of Apollo was derived fr. the Dorians is now generally discredited; on the contrary, the appellation πατρ μos harmonizes w. the belief that the Apollo worship was fr. the first peculiar to the Ionians. - el...etποιμ...είπον: a combination of two protases w. one apodosis (έπεύχομαι). Ci. G M T. 508, 509. - Kal ToT, and if I did speak it, right at the very moment when. — προς, with a view to; st. for the sake of. — ανόνητόν με ποιήσαι, to render me destitute of the enjoyment of any good.

§ 142. Toob, K. T. &., Why then have I made these so grave imprecations

and assurances? — δημοσίφ, the archives. — ξχων...είδως: strongly concessive. — ἐλάττων: minor quam ut conficeret. — δπερ πρότερον συνέβη, sc. in the acquittal of Æsch. on the famous trial (343 B. C.) for his violation of oath and neglect of duty as envoy to Philip concerning the peace. Cf. § 35.

§ 143. τὸν...πόλεμον: the circumstances that led to this war, sometimes called the "Third Sacred War," are given in the subjoined extract from the speech of Æsch. In citing this passage there is omitted, as unimportant to the question at issue, the story how this Cirrhæan plain came to be consecrated (to wh. allusion is made by Dem. in the words λόγους εύπροσώmovs, § 149). The unusual and emphatic order of the words in this sentence must not escape notice. — 'Eláteiav : cf. note, § 152. — 85 refers to Philip. - els arno, is the author alone and singly of all our greatest calamities; or, of greater calamities than any other one individual. — to the texanolog, wh. was held immediately after the return of Æsch. fr. his mission to the Amphictyonic council. — πόλεμον 'Αμφικτυονικόν: up to this time the war w. Philip had its theatre in and about the northern possessions of Athens; but now, when it was easy to foresee that Philip, who had usurped the place of Phocis in the Amphictyonic council, would be intrusted w. the leadership of a war waged under the auspices of this council, the warning cry πόλεμον είs την Αττικην είσαγειs ought not to have sounded in vain. — ἐκ παρακλή**rews**, those scated together by preconcerted arrangement; lit. by summons. παράκλητος = Lat. advocatus. The orator means the Macedonian clique wh. generally sat together in the popular Assembly whenever concerted action seemed desirable.

§ 145. ήν.. εl...ποιήσειε: what kind of a condit. sent.? Cf. G M T. 696; H. 900 a; Cu. § 549; C. 632. — Θηβαίους... Θετταλούς: while the traditional hatred between the Thebans and Athenians continued unabated (cf. § 168), there had arisen on the other side an estrangement between the Thebans and Philip, of wh. the refusal of Thebes to participate in the measures against the Amphissians (cf. Æsch. § 128) was an expression. In this state of things, it was probable that Thebes would not only decline to join Philip in an expedition against Athens, but would even prevent his

army from passing through her territory; and it was doubtful whether under such circumstances the Thessalians would follow him. Cf. A. Schaef., II. 505. — τῶν ληστῶν, guerillas; the reference is to private bands of marauders who by land and sea harassed the domain of Philip. — τῶν ἐκ. τῆς χώρας: cf. note, § 44.

§ 146. μήτε...μήτε, st. οδτε...οδτε, because the partice. have a conditional force. — δποιουσδήποθ', of whatever sort they were; a point upon wh. he does not expatiate (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε). — αὐτῆ τῆ φύσα, to suffer ill from the very nature of the locality and the circumstances of each party. The power of Philip lay in his land forces, that of Athens in her navy; the way to Athens was obstructed over land by the Thebans, over the sea by the Athenians.

§ 147. el... συμπείθοι... αν ήγειτο προσέξειν, if then he should try to persuade to join (our) ... he thought that no one would be likely to pay attention to him. Notice the emphatic position of της ιδίας ένεκ' έχθρας. Δυ προσέξειν would regularly be ἀν προσέξοι in the finite form. The fut. opt. w. ἀν is so rare that its existence is denied by some grammarians. For this reason some critics propose either to omit de or to change the text to de mposéxeu. But cf. GMT. 203, 208; Kühner's Gramm., § 260. 5 a; Baümlein de Modis, pp. 295-297, 351. Undoubted instances of the fut. opt. w. are found in Lycurg. in Leocr., § 5; Lys. de cæde Erat., § 22; of the fut. infin. w. ar in Dem. Leptin., § 35; Thuc., II. 80. — έαν...παρακρούσεσθαι, but if in assuming the common pretexts of these he should be chosen leader, he hoped he would in part quite easily deceive them and in part persuade them. The second of these two conditions (sc. $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{a}\nu$ alpe $\theta\hat{\eta}$) expresses the more probable or nearer alternative, the one wh. was later actually fulfilled. Just below Dem. makes the same discrimination: εl εlσηγοίτο τις and du 'Αθηναίος ή. τάς...κοινάς προφάσεις: the same wh. are called προφάσεις 'Αμφικτυονικάς in § 158, and relating to the supposed violation of the rights of the Delphic god by the Amphissians and Athenians. — τοίε 'Αμφικτύοσι: dat. commodi. — περl = in, denoting place and time. So περl τον Δεκελεικον πόλεμον, § 96. - Πυλαίαν: the Congress of the Amphictyons bore this name, as the delegates that of πυλάγοραι (§ 149), from the circumstance that it assembled twice each year, in autumn and in spring, in the temple of Demeter at Thermopyla. It was formerly supposed that the spring session was held at Delphi, but the recently discovered funeral oration of Hyperides (§ 16), acc. to Westermann, has confirmed the conjecture of those critics who believe that the delegates first assembled at Thermopylæ to perform their ancient rites, and then adjourned to Delphi to transact other business. - ds rave', for these things, i. e. to settle these difficulties.

§ 148. Ιφομνημόνων: deriv.? The difference betw. the Hieromnemons

and Pylagoræ is not wholly clear; but from the representation of Æsch., § 115, it appears that besides the general meetings in wh. both participated, there were sessions of a more special character attended alone by the Hieromnemons; and that these alone were the actual official members of the Council and had the right to offer proposals and to pass decrees, while the Pylagoræ seem to have acted merely as councillors, who, whenever occasion demanded, were to plead for the particular interests of their respective states.

— ἐκείνου: spoken from the standpoint of the speaker; cf. §§ 218, 236. — ὑπόψεσθαι: the critical student will observe that this apodosis in oratio recta would differ fr. Δυ προσέξειν above. — ἐντόφως λήσαν, it (i. e. τὸ πράγμα = his scheme) would easily escape detection.

- § 149. φυλάττοντος: Schaefer remarks that we might expect φυλαττοmérou = guarding against, but the idea of guarding against anything involves that of being watchful lest it may happen; hence the middle and active of this verb are frequently interchanged. — προβληθείε, κ. τ. έ., having been nominated and three or four having held up their hands for him, he was declared elected. The result of a vote was immediately declared by the presiding officer. The method of procedure here described is not entirely unknown in modern political assemblies. - two parer, k. T. &., he accomplished the ends for which he had been hired. Whether this charge of Dem. be true or not, it is certain that if Æsch. had been acting as the hireling of Philip, he could have done nothing so favorable to the ambition of Philip and so fatal to the freedom of Greece, as to stir up this new Amphictyonic war. - 80ev, how and whence, going back and tracing the history from its origin. - ή Κιρραία χώρα: the Cirrhæan territory is a fertile plain extending from the foot of Mt. Parnassus to the Corinthian Gulf. How it came to be set apart to the service of the Delphic sanctuary is familiar to all who know the history of the first Sacred War, B. C. 595. - aneloous hover, inexperienced in speech-making, in contrast w. the Pylagoræ. "The Hieromnemons were chosen, in Athens at least, from the whole body of people, without distinction of person." W.
- § 150. περιελθείν, i. e. circuire ad fines determinandos. Diss. σφών αὐτῶν οὖσαν, as belonging to themselves. τῆς...χώρας: pred. partit. genit. οὐδεμίαν δίκην... ἐπαγόντων, although the Locrians were bringing no suit against us, nor those charges which now this man pretends. Dem. does not directly contradict the narrative of Æsch.; his argument is this: no summons had been served by the Locrians on Athens, and without such summons no prosecution could legally be carried on; hence there were still many steps to be taken before final judgment could be pronounced against Athens; Æsch. ought, therefore, to have tempered his zeal w. a little good sense, to say nothing more. The account of Æsch. gives no explanation of



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the most vital point in the whole affair, the appointment of Philip to conduct the war. Cf. Grote, XC.; A. Schaef., II., p. 498 ff. — τελέσασθαι, to bring to an issue (τέλος). — ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχής, from what cause? ἀρχή is used in the Homeric sense of alria. V. cites in confirmation of this rendering a Schol. wh. explains ἀπαξ ἐκ τούτων in the next paragraph by ἀπὸ μῶς ἀρχῆς = alrias μῶς. Some take ἀρχή to mean here magistracy, and read under the auspices of what magistracy? But W. remarks that this idea is implied in the preceding τίς...ἐκλήτευσεν. Inferior MSS. read ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς, wh. is made to mean: in what archonship? But this idea the Greek would express by ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος. — ταύτη κατεχρῶ, you have made use of this as an empty and false pretext. The omission of the art. makes ταύτη the subj. and προφάσει the predicate of the clause. Cf. C. 524 c; Kühner's Larger Gramm., § 246. 3, Rem. 1.

§ 151. μικρού κατηκόντισαν, well-nigh shot them all down. account of Æsch., § 123. — άπαξ ἐκ τούτων, once for all from these proceedings. - Κόττυφος: Æsch., § 128, tells us all we know about him. - οί μὸν, sc. the Athenians and the Thebans, as we learn fr. the account of Æsch. els denotes the terminus ad quem. They had been expecting to do this all along, and were planning it for the next meeting. - The emoûrae IIuhalae: the next regular meeting of the Amphictyonic council. Grote says that the first motion raised by Æsch. against the Amphissians occurred in the spring meeting (he says at Delphi, but see note on Huhalar, § 147); next there was held the special meeting wh. elected Cottyphus to the leadership; after this, in September, 339 B. C., came the regular autumnal meeting, wh. is referred to here. — επί τον Φ. ήγεμόνα ήγον, lit. they brought affairs (sc. τά πράγματα) to Philip as leader. So in Phil., III., § 57: οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢγον τα πράγματα, οι δ' έπι Φίλιππον. — οι κατεσκευασμένοι, κ. τ. ε., those of the Thessalians and those (lit. of those) in the rest of the states who had been prepared (i. e. bought) and were veteran traitors.

§ 152. eloφόρεν, to contribute a special tax. — ζημιούν, to punish by fine. — ήρθη γὰρ: γάρ implies an ellipsis in the thought, somewhat like this: but what is the use of wasting many words upon this point; for you know the result, and that is enough. — είθθως: Philip at once set about collecting a force and preparing for his campaign in Hellas. But Dem. neglects to mention (probably w. the intention of making his narrative the more striking and effective) that Philip first marched against Amphissa, and, after destroying it and defeating the combined forces of the Locrians and Athenians, turned back unexpectedly towards Elatea. Cf. A. Schaef., II., p. 513 ff. — ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας, having bidden a long adieu. This sarcastic use of this phrase is quite common. Cf. de F. L., § 243: ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ. — Ἑλάτειαν: the largest town of Phocis, situated not far fr. the

frontier of the Epicnemidian Locrians, and important as the key to the mountain passes that give approach to and from Thessaly. It had been destroyed, in common w. the other Phocian towns, at the close of the Sacred War, 346 B. c. Æsch., § 140, states that now Philip fortified it.—How much consternation this movement of Philip excited at Athens, we shall presently hear.

§ 153. Σσπερ χειμάρρους: the student must have already noticed the sparing use Dem. makes of figures of speech. For Quintilian's criticism of his style and comparison of him w. Cicero, cf. Institutes of Oratory, IX., ch. I., § 40; X., ch. I., §§ 105-108; XII., ch. X., § 23. — τὸ γ' ξαίφνης, for the moment at least (though not ultimately). — και...καὶ, and...also.

§ 156. $\ell\pi\eta$ know, refused to comply, either to join him in attacking the Athenians, or permitting him free transit through their borders. — $\tau\sigma\vartheta$ s... $\tau\nu\mu\mu\dot{\alpha}\chi\sigma\upsilon$ s: the Arcadians, Eleans, Messenians, and Argives. — $\tau\vartheta$ $\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\tau$ - $\tau\epsilon\upsilon$: epexegetical of $\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\rho\sigma\upsilon$. This use of $\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\rho\sigma\upsilon$ for the true reason is rare and scarcely recognized in the lexicons. It is often opposed to $d\lambda\eta\theta\dot{\epsilon}s$ ($\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\upsilon$ $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\upsilon$... $\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $d\lambda\eta\dot{\alpha}\dot{\epsilon}s$ $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$), and is used just below to denote the pretexts alleged by Philip and presented by Æsch. Tyler. Cf. § 225, where $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\epsilon}s$ is added to distinguish fr. $d\lambda\eta\dot{\theta}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{s}s$, and Thuc. I. 23, 6. — $\delta\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\epsilon}av\tau\dot{\alpha}$, measures resolved upon by the Amphictyons. — $\dot{\alpha}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\alpha}s$: deriv.? Occasions, opportunities for acting, w. the idea of secrecy or dishonesty.

§ 158. φεύγει...καταφεύγει: Diss. remarks that these verbs are used together by way of sarcasm. — περιιόντες: in allusion to the notorious habit of the Athenians of walking indolently about and hearing and discussing news and politics. Cf. κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, § 323. — ὑφ' ἐνὸς, sc. Philip.

§ 159. δν...οὐκ ἀν ὁκνήσαιμ, κ. τ. ἐ, whom, were one without reserve to speak the truth, I for my part should not hesitate to call the ruinous cause of all the losses that have followed. — τόπων, districts; more general in meaning than πόλεων. Wh. understands it to mean forts = χωρία. — ὁ γὰρ... παρασχών, οὖτος, κ. τ. ἑ., for he who furnishes the seed, he is responsible for the harvest of evils. Cicero appears to have imitated this passage in Philip., II., c. 22: "ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti." — δν: the relative is taken out of its clause and placed first to serve as a connective; cf. ἡς τῶν μὲν τετυχηκότων, § 128; furthermore, δν is the obj. of ἀπεστράφητε, the accus. retained after the passive without a prep. Cf. H. 724a; C. 472 f; Cu. 398; G. gr. § 197, N. 2. (f. Soph. Œd. Col., 1272. Render: from whom that you did not turn away in abhorrence as soon as ever you saw him, surprises me. — πρὸ, between you and the truth; lit. before the truth, hiding it from you as by a veil.



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III. §§ 160-247. The Part Drmosthenes played in defending his Country against the Consequences of the Amphissian War, by bringing about the Alliance with Thebes. Συμβίβηκε: as something that is perfectly natural.— τὰ ἰργα...τοὺς λόγους, the reality...the account. So Thuc., I. 22: καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγψ εἶπον ἔκαστοι, τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων.— αὐτῶν: cf. note on τὰ τῶν ᾿Αμφισσέων δίγματα, § 140.

§ 161. της τως τως Φιλίπτου φρονούντων, under the influence of those favoring the interests of Philip. So in § 177: φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα = favoring your interests. — ἐκατίρους... ἀμφοτέρους: the former denotes each of the two (Thebes and Athens) in their separate interests; the latter the two together in their joint interests. — δ μὲν... δεόμενον: the relative sentence preceding its antecedent τὸ... ἐᾶν ανακευς expectation on the part of the hearer. — τὸ προσκρούων, and for collision with one another. A strong word; lit. to dush or strike against. In §§ 19, 163 the orator uses the compound συγκρούων = to strike together; in § 198, ἀντικρούων = to strike back, hence to turn out badly. — τοῦτο sums up the whole thought; often so used.

§ 162. 'Αριστοφώντα... Εύβουλον: cf. § 70. — πράξαι ταύτην την φιλίαν, to effect this alliance. — βουλομένους... ὁμογνωμονοῦντας are supplementary after είδως, while ἀντιλέγοντας is concessive: although often contradicting each other (sc. ἐαυτοῖς) in regard to other matters, upon this were always agreed. — ούς... παρηκολούθας: Æsch. is said to have been secretary to them. The partice. κολακεύων and κατηγορών contain the important idea. — κίναδος: this word has been rendered base wretch, vile animal, scandal to huminity, crafty creature, monster, sly fax, reptile. I prefer the last as most in harmony w. the idea of a sneaking, false character that fawns upon those whom it is ready to betray. — δοκιμασάντων, sinctioned.

§ 163. Εκείσε, i. e. to his statement interrupted in § 153.—5τι to be joined w. συνέβη. — συμπεραναμένων, κ. τ. έ., and because the rest of his coadjutors had joined (συν) in developing our hostility with Thebes. The genit. absol. expresses cause or reason here. — ουπερ, for which very purpose; περ indicates the closeness or exactness of the relation. — προσανίστημεν... άναλαβείν, and had we not aroused ourselves a little beforehand (i. e. before Philip's plans were matured), we should not have been able to gain them over to our side. ἀναλαβείν is generally taken in the sense of to recover or retrieve. But what is it fr. wh. they could not have retrieved themselves? Some say, from their enmity; but this makes poor sense. Others say, they could not have recovered their position; but this seems too vague. Dem. wishes to say this: our only hope of successfully resisting Philip lay in a union w. the Thebaus; but this hope would be utterly destroyed, if feelings

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of hostility were allowed to exist much longer. For this sense of drahaßeîr of. Dimarch c. Dem., § 28; Aristoph. Equit., 682. — The Exercises so reads Σ ; inferior MSS. have $\tau \delta \pi \rho \hat{a} \gamma \mu a$. Our reading appears to favor the interpretation of $d \nu a \lambda a \beta \epsilon \hat{i} \nu$ just given.

§ 168. διὰ τούτων, i. e. Esch. and his accomplices. — ἐταρθεὶς... ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, led on by these decrees and by the responses. Wh. wonders how Philip could have been encouraged to make his attack on Elatea by these ἀποκρίσεις inserted in the text, wh. profess to be written by himself. We suspect that Westermann is right in conjecturing that Dem. alludes to the correspondence then going on between Athens and Thebes, wh. was probably not altogether in a spirit of friendly reconciliation, and of wh. Philip was doubtless well informed. — ὡς οὐδ' ἄν, κ. τ. ἐ., as though, come what might, we and the Thebans would never again co-operate. — συμπνευσάντων ἄν = συμπνεύσαυτο ἀν, cf. H. 987; G M T. 207; Cu. § 595; C. 658 a. For the repetition of ἀν cf. G M T. 223 and 224; K. § 261. 3; Madv. G. S. § 139 b. What gramm. objection is there to the form συμπνευσόντων wh. is found in the best MSS.?

§ 169. Yap introduces the narration, as we use now in Engl. No passage in the oration has been more lauded, and more deservedly so, than this graphic and beautiful description. Cf. Longinus. It is interesting to read and compare the account of this event given by Diodorus, XVI. 84. -Έσπέρα: the order of the sentence emphasizes the fact that this announcement was made in the evening. - mpuravers: the intelligence would naturally first come to them from their official position. — 3: cf. H.930, 1054d; Cu. §§ 632 d, 526 b; С. 702 a. — µетафі бентиобитея: the prytanes took their meals in the θόλος, a building adjoining the Senate room, at the expense of the state. The principal meal (δείπνον) w. the Greeks was at evening. — τούς τ' έκ τῶν σκηνῶν: cf. note on § 44. — ἐξεῖργον, drove the hucksters out of their booths, for the purpose of clearing the Agora preparatory to convening the Assembly. Cf. Aristoph. Acharn., 21 ff. The descriptive character of the narration is strengthened by the use of the impf. in this and the following verbs. — τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, set on fire their sheds. τὰ γέρρα, originally used of wicker-work, later came to signify any kind of covering or roofing. As to the object of this proceeding commentators vacillate between two opinions: (1) in order to clear the space of the Agora with all possible despatch; (2) to serve as a signal of alarm wh. was to summon the people fr. the rural districts into the city. Objection is made to (1) that this act was unnecessary, since there were numerous slaves who could remove these sheds in ample season before the next morning; to (2) that the situation of the Agora was not a suitable one for giving signals. Still, on the whole, (2) seems the more probable theory: first, because no



other step seems to have been taken to call the rural population into the city; second, because there was after all no empty square so large and suitable as the Agora for giving such a signal. — τοὺς στρατηγοὺς: these had to summon the extraordinary session of the Assembly. Cf. ψήφισμα, § 37; Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 107. — ἄμα τῆ ἡμέρα, at daybreak. But there was nothing unusual in this, as we learn fr. Aristoph. Acharn., 20; Eccles., 312, 377. — χρηματίσαι και προβουλεῦσαι is the usual form of expression to denote (χρηματίσαι) the discussion and deliberation of any proposal and (προβουλεῦσαι) the adoption of a resolution or bill to be brought before the ἐκκλησία. — ἄνω καθήτο: the Assembly was held at that time in the Pnyx, wh. was located on a hill overlooking the Agora.

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Hence ἀναβαίνεων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Dem. c. Aristoct., I., §§ 9, 20. § 170. ἀς: temporal. — ἡλθεν, sc. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. — ἀπήγγειλαν: probably through the ἐπιστάτης as chairman. — τὸν ἡκοντα παρήγαγον, and they had introduced the messenger. — ἡρώτα, kept asking. — τἱς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται is the ordinary formula for opening the business of the meeting. Cf. Aristoph. Acharn., 45. — παρήει, i. e. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. — ῥητόρων: the Greek rhetors were at this time a class of professional politicians and public speakers. The orator emphasizes the point that all those men were present in this Assembly who were wont to be foremost in giving counsel. — καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς, κ. τ. ἑ., and although the common voice of the fatherland was summoning some one to speak in behalf of her welfare. Many Editt. read καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῷ κοινῷ φωνῷ, wh. has excellent MS. authority. For the omission of the article w. πατρίδος, cf. § 242.

. § 171. τὸ βῆμα: the bema was the tribune fr. wh. the Athenian orators addressed the people. As seen to-day among the ruins of Athens, it is a solid cube of stone, some 10 feet in height, having a surface once square and smooth, but now somewhat irregular; it is surrounded at the bottom on three sides by stone steps or seats. — old far: parenthetic and without any influence on the construction; so frequently. Cf. § 293; Phil., II., § 29; Soph. Antig., 276. — ol τριακόσιοι: cf. note on the trierarchal system, § 102. — τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, sc. ὅντας, and if those who were both (sc. παρελθεῖν ἔδει). ἀμφότερα ταῦτα is a predic. accus., and simply anticipates the καὶ...καὶ following. — μετά ταῦτα, i. e. after Chæronea, when the citizens made the greatest personal sacrifices to repair their walls and put their city in a better state of defence against Philip. Cf. §§ 248, 312.

§ 172. ἐκεῖνος... ἐκείνη: very emphatic; that (memorable) occasion. — παρηκολουθηκότα, who had closely followed up. — σύδὲν... ἡμελλεν, be any the more likely; i. e. for all his wealth and patriotism.

§ 173. ἐφάνην...ἐγώ, I then appeared to be this one (i. e. δν ὁ καιρός ἐκάλει)

upon that day. The unusual order of the sentence makes ἐγώ very emphatic. What is to be grammatically supplied in the predicate after ἐφάντης?

— τὴν...τάξιν, I did not desert the post of patriotism in the hour of danger.

Cf. § 138: τὴν ἐλόμενον τάξιν; Dem. Olynth., III. § 36: παραχωρεῦν τῆς τάξεως. — πολιτείας, you will be much more familiar with the entire conduct of affairs for the future; i. e. more familiar w. the principles of my policy as applied to the events that remain to be considered, than you otherwise would be. Some scholars prefer to make τὰ λοιπὰ limit πολιτείας; w. this constr. the sense is not materially altered. With this life-like and masterly description the student may profitably compare Webster's graphic account, in the trial of the Knapps, of the murder of their victim.

§ 174. 8τι: merely to introduce the citation, and not to be translated. What now follows is all we know of the masterly speech Dem. delivered on this occasion. This brief summary is itself an eloquent testimony to the wisdom and magnanimity of the Athenian statesman. First, Dem. shows the advantage and necessity of an alliance w. Thebes; next, what measures are to be taken to secure this alliance. — το παρχόντων Θ....Φ., as though the Thebans were in favor of Philip. ὑπάρχειν τυί = to be in support (ὑπό) or in favor of any one, a meaning not given by L. and Sc. Cf. Dem. de F. L., § 54: τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι; § 118: ὑπάρξων ἐκείνω. — ἡκούομεν...δντα: how different fr. ἡκούομεν εἰναι? αὐτὸν δντα, accus. w. ἀκούω as the thing heard. — τν ἔτοιμα, κ. τ. δ.: a general expression for that he may bring the Thebans over to his side.

§ 175. απαντας εὐτρέπισται, all (those embraced in the category of ħ...ħ) he has made friendly to himself. The orator's point is that Ph. has already exhausted his opportunities in Thebes. — δείξας, by showing a military force in the vicinity. — ἐπᾶραι, ποιῆσαι, καταπλῆξαι: these infinitives depend on βούλεται, the force of wh. continues. — ΐν ἢ συγχωρήσωσι: expresses the ultimate purpose or aim of what precedes. In order that they may either yield through fear what now they are not willing (to yield), or may be compelled by force.

§ 176. et τι δύσκολον = δσα δύσκολα, whatever is offensive; as e. g. what is referred to in § 96. — είτα, in the next place; without the δέ as correl. of μέν. Cf. έπειτα, § 1. In the next paragraph we find the same omission of δέ. — μη... ελθωσιν: for the negat. and use of mode cf. G M T. 365; H. 898; Cu. § 533; C. 624, 625. — αὐτῷ, those now opposed to him having received him. Reiske conjectured αὐτόν as obj. of προσδεξαμένων st. αὐτῷ, on the ground that the pronoun seems more essential in connection w. this than w. the other partie.; but in § 162 we have οθε as obj. of κολακεύων st. οἰς w. παρηκολούθεις. — φλλιππισάντων: a word coined probably by Dem. So Herod. and Thuc. used the verb Μηδίζειν in the account of the relations



of Persia and Greece. — ἀμφότεροι, i. e. Philip and the Thebans. — πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν...γένησθε, and ye may be inclined to deliberate, instead of to dispute concerning what I may say. — δόξειν: Rauchenstein conjectures ξξειν = shall be able (cf. § 172), instead of δόξειν, as the orator would not say shall seem to spenk; but by supplying ὁμῶν this objection vanishes. — ἰφωτηκότα κίνδυνον τῷ πόλα: the same order of partic, and subst. is found in §§ 190, 197, 220; a different order in §§ 179, 188. Which is the more regular?

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§ 177. τί οὐν ψημι δεῖν: Diss. notes how skilfully the orator excites attention in beginning the second part of this speech w. this inquiry.—
μεταθίσθαι: used absolutely, = to turn about.— τῶν δενῶν: gen. w. ἐγγυτέρω.— προτέρου: as a predicate; the peril is theirs first.— Έλευσῖνάδε: this route would be over the "Sacred Way" to Eleusis (about 12 miles fr. Athens), thence to Thebes in a northwesterly direction across Mt. Cithæron. A more direct way to Thebes led through Acharnæ and Phyle; but this was not so practicable for a large army, nor did it offer any large plain, such as the Eleusinian, for the massing of a large force, in case of an attack.—
τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία, those who have the requisite age for military service. This designation applies only to the heavy-armed troops; the cavalry, being a branch of service of later origin, is named separately. The military age was from 18 to 60.— ξ ίσου, sc. as to the partisans of Philip.—τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι, the boldness to speak freely.— οῦτω...ὑπάρχο, so to those who wish...you stand ready to render assistance.

§ 178. κυρίους, and to give them, tog ther with the generals, absolute control both of the time to be fixed upon for going thither (i. e. to Thebes) and of the expedition. — τούτφ...τὸν νοῦν, to this give most careful attention, I pray you. μαι is an ethical dative; cf. H. 770; Cu.§ 433; G. gr. § 184, 3, N. 6; C. 462 ε. — αἰσχρὸς: it would be dishonorable to take such advantage of their helplessness. — ἐν τοῦς ἐσχάτους: some MSS. add κινδόνοις; but we can say: in extremities. — ἡμῶν...προορωμένων: on the principle that those who are somewhat removed fr. danger are calmer and clearer in their judgment than those who are in the midst of it. — καλ...καλ, both...and; embracing the apodosis. — προσχήματος: the pretext was to give aid to the oppressed Thebans. — ἐὰν δ΄...ἄν: the latter condit. clause is special and subordinate to the former, wh. is more general. Cf. εἰ μὲν...εἰ and εἰ δὲ...εἰ in § 217. — ἡμῦν: dat. agent. The words that Dem. here puts, so to say, into the mouth of the envoys, are lauded by Dionysius in his Art. Rhetor., IX., § 9, for their appropriate (εὐπρέπειαν) character.

§ 179. οὐκ εἶπον...οὐκ ἔγραψα, κ. τ. ἐ.: the antithetic force of μέν...δέ and the peculiar use of the negat. οὐκ and οὐδέ, make an exact translation of this much-praised example of climax (cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, IX., Chap. III., § 55) quite impossible. An approximation to the original may be made thus:

I did not say these things and fail to propose them; I did not propose them and fail to go on an embassy, etc. Lord B. suggests these renderings: (1) by a double negation, thus: I did not say these things and not propose; (2) by the use of without in the second clause; (3) not only did I say these things, but I propounded a decree, etc.—Sixfildov, I carried the affair through (3id).— figs: the orator improves the pause, while the clerk is preparing to read the document, by making personal remarks more or less closely connected w. the point under consideration. So in §§ 212, 219.

§ 180. 92, represent, make out to be. What use of subjunct.? Cf. H. 866, 3; GMT. 287; Cu. § 511; C. 647. - Bárrahov: the origin and meaning of this nickname are in doubt. Dem. claims that it was a pet name given him by his nurse; but Asch. c. Timarch., § 126, ridicules this claim, and says in de F. L., § 99 : ἐν παισί μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐκλήθη δι αἰσχρουργίαν τινά και κιναιδίαν Báralos. The Schol. renders it by profligate, effeminate, and derives it variously: (1) from the name of a flute-player or poet, notorious for his effeminacy; (2) from the sickly and weak condition of Dem. body; (3) as a term of contempt borrowed from an instrument used by flute-players for beating time, and called ὑποπόδιον or βάταλος. Recent scholars connect it w. βάττος, βατταρίζω, and make it mean stammerer, stutterer, in allusion to the orator's supposed defect in utterance. — Kperdóvtny... Kperta... Olνόμαον: these were parts that fell to the τριταγωνιστής. Cf. § 129. The first-named character was the third rôle in a play of Euripides of the same name; the second is the well-known tyrant in the Antigone of Sophocles; the third was a subordinate character in a play of Sophocles bearing this name. — εν Κολλυτφ, whom once in Collytus you wretchedly murdered. Collytus was one of the country demes in wh. the rural Dionysia were celebrated. In the anonymous biography of Esch., the story is told that Æsch., in the rôle of Œnomaus, on a certain occasion tripped and fell on the stage while pursuing Pelops. — τότε: very emphatic. — δ Παιανιεύς έγω: in the skilful arrangement of the words each contrasted term occupies relatively a reversed position, except that σοῦ comes last for the sake of emphasis.

§ 188. Aυτη...πρώτη, This was the beginning and first step towards a settlement of our difficulties with Thebes. κατάστασις = constitutio rerum antea turbatarum. Diss. — τὰ πρὸ τούτων, as regards previous affairs. — ὑπὸ τούτων, i. e. Æsch. and his coadjutors. — ὑπερ νέφος: Larned sums up the merits of this sentence thus: (1) The figure is unexpected; the sentence would be complete if it closed w. ἐποίησεν. (2) It is perfectly natural; it expresses the thought more truthfully than any literal language. (3) The whole sentence is worded as simply and concisely as possible.



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(4) The ancient critics noticed a perfect rhythm in the sentence; to the ear of Longinus the effect would have been much marred, he informs us, by the substitution of ω̄s or ω̄σπερεί for ω̄σπερ. — νῦν ἐπιτμῶν: as opposed to τότε δεῖξαι. Why the change in the tense of the infin.?

§ 189. ὁ γὰρ σόμβουλος, κ. τ. ἐ., for the statesman and the demagogue. In his speech against Midias, § 189, the orator states the distinction between the σύμβουλος and the ρήτωρ. The συκοφάντης (cf. note § 112) is further characterized in § 242. — τοῖς πασθείση, to his followers, i. e. those who have accepted his policy and accordingly hold him responsible. — τῷ καιρῷ, opportunity, i. e. the seasonable time or opportune moment for any action. — τῷ βουλομένψ refers to any one who may choose to call a political leader to an account for the results of his policy. — σιγήσας ...δῶς : in this general definition we should expect σιγῶν...δῶς ; the past tense is used specially w. an eye to Æsch.

§ 190. δπερ είπον, sc. in § 188: ἢν μὲν...ἐπιτμῶν. — ἐκεῖνος, in the predicate and in sharp contrast w. νῦν below; that was the occasion, therefore. — ἐγὼ...ποιοῦμω, but I go so far as to say. — ἄστε...ὁμολογῶ, that I confess myself guilty. What would be the difference in the thought if the orator had said ώστε ὁμολογεῶν? Cf. G M T. 582–584; H. 927, 953; Cu. § 565, Obs. 1; C. 671 d. — ἐώρακεν = now knows of; the perfect often represents the state or condition resulting fr. the action of the verb. — πραχθέν: what use of the partic.? Give the Greek clause to correspond to συνήνεγκεν &ν. Cf. a similar constr., § 30. — εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι, κ. τ. ἐ.: cf. § 141 and note. — καὶ τήμερον, yea, even to-day. — τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων: expressed above by δείξαὶ τι...τι...ἐνῆν.

§ 191. altiâσθα, κ. τ. ἐ, this sarcastic inquiry is explained by βασκαίσει, § 189. — τίς ἐγγυᾶσθα, κ. τ. ἑ, who is willing to guarantee the future? — τότε, sc. ἐδειξας. — ἀλλλ, yet, introducing the apodosis. — ἐδκαρεῖν, with which I ought to have furnished myself. The comm. reading is εὐρεῖν. — τῆ πόλα: join w. συμφέρων. Some call it dat. incommod. w. the verb. — πρᾶξις, enterprise, "practical measure," "plan." — μᾶλλον, i. e. than those to wh. he did lead them.

§ 192. τάξιν, the office. In the present and in the future the statesman is required to be at his post discharging his duty. — τότε: when the negotiations w. Thebes were in progress. — προαίρεσίν, the aim; that wh. one sets before himself as his chosen object. — μη...συκοφάντα, do not rail at the results. — ἀς ἄν...βουληθη̂: whatever it may be, as the use of ἀν w. subjunctive indicates. — αὐτὴ, as viewed by itself. — διάνοιαν, the intention; subjective, while προαίρεσιε is objective.

§ 193. τῆ μάχη, i. e. Chæronea. Dat. of respect; the more usual reading is τ τ μάχην. — ούκ ἐμοί: it is not essential that ἐν be repeated, as is

done in the reading of many Editt. — δσα ..λογισμόν, as many things as are possible in human calculation. — και δικαίως, κ. τ. δ.: the force of the preceding negative is retained here. — φιλοπόνως έπλρ δύναμιν, laboriously beyond my power. We speak of superhuman effort. — τότ' ήδη: tum demum: but not before.

§ 194. σκηπτός, but if the tornado that ensued. Dem. compared what happens to a torrent (χειμάρρους) in § 153, and in § 214 to a deluge (κατακλυσμόν). — μείζων γέγονε, has proved too strong for. — τί χρή ποιείν: the answer to the inquiry is omitted as being self-evident. Schaef. states it thus: to keep still and not to accuse; perhaps it is better put in the form of a question: to find fault? Then follows the ellipsis: that would be unreasonable; just as it would be, if, etc., ωσπερ &ν (είη). Cf. § 243. — εί...ναίkanpov: originally the captain was at the same time the owner of the ship; hence ναύκληρος may mean either. But οδτ' έκυβέρνων points to the owner who might be held liable for the loss of the cargo, in case the ship was not well equipped. — ἀφ' ών: most MSS. have πᾶσι before κατασκευάσωντα, as the antecedent of ων. — χρησάμενον, encountering; in agreement w. Those who take rauxlypor as referring to the captain place this partic. in agreement w. it. - wovngavrov, and its tackling laboring. Professor Tyler calls attention to the nautical sense of the words in this passage; thus: σωτηρία = for a safe voyage; κατασκευάσαντα = having fitted out; πονησάντων and σκευών as above rendered. - ώσπερ...έγώ: thrown in by way of parenthesis, to indicate the application to himself. The appositeness of this comparison may be remarked in every particular.

§ 195. είμαρτο sums up what he has been saying about τύχη, ὁ δαίμων, and δ θεδs. - μηδε, not even. "A different policy would have left us without even that advantage." HOLMES. - EKELVOS, i. e. Philip. He used every effort of persuasion. — τριών ήμερών, a journey (δδόν accus. of extent) of three days. The distance fr. Athens to Charonca is 62 Engl. miles. § 230 Dem. says: ἐπτακόσια στάδια άπὸ τῆς πόλεως. Athens was about 200 stadia distant fr. the Bœotian frontier. From 150 to 200 stadia was reckoned as an ordinary day's march. - TI av ... xpfiv, what could we have looked for? implying that the fear and panic were already so great that the case could hardly be worse. τι χρην προσδοκών above = what should we have looked for, assuming for the moment that things had been different. που τής χώρας: somewhere in our territory. — νῦν, i. e. under existing circumstances, as it actually was; opposed to $\tau \delta \tau \epsilon$ below, wh. means in the other case, i. e. supposing my advice had not been followed. - orfival, K. T. E., to stand firm, to concentrate, to draw breath. The asyndeton gives us the notion of the rapidity of the thought and action at the crisis. - pla ήμέρα: this brief respite after the battle of Chæronea, the orator means to



say, was of the utmost importance, and would not have occurred but for the Theban alliance. — τότε δ': another instance of aposiopesis. Here it indicates horror; but in § 3, anxiety; and in § 22, anger. Cf. note § 3. — δ....πεῖραν ἔδωκε, sc. αὐτῶν; lit. which did not give a trial of themselves, i. e. enter into our experience. Cf. § 107; Dem. c. Timocr., § 24: καὶ πεῖραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώκαστ. — τῷ προβάλλεσθαι, and through the city's throwing before itself (as a shield). The reading εῦνοια...τὸ is found in Σ and is adopted by Bekk.

§ 196. μοι, dat. int.; all this long story of mine is directed to you. — δικασταί: before this Dem. has used Δνδρες Αθηναίοι, but here he wishes to draw the distinction more closely between the jurors and the spectators. — Εξωθεν outside the bar; the court was enclosed by a wooden railing (δρύφακτον). Esch., § 56, states that he does not remember ever before seeing so large a multitude present at a public trial. Cic. (de opt. gen. orat., VII. 22) says: ad quod judicium concursus dicitur e tota Gracia factus esse. — Εξήρκε, would suffice; de omitted, as often w. the impf. in such expressions as dνάγκη, χαλεπόν, εἰκὸς ἡν, εδει, χρῆν, κ. τ. έ. Cf. G M T. 415, 416. Cf. θαυμαστόν ἡν, § 248. — τοῦς άλλοις: dat. assoc. or likeness w. τῆς αὐτῆς. — ταῦτα, i. e. of this ignorance and its results. This is one of the most complete dilemmas in the oration; but is there no escape fr. it?

§ 197. (co γαρ αν... εχρώντο,) for (if you had) they would not have adopted these (i. e. my measures). Thus indirectly the orator compliments the sagacity of his countrymen, as well as his own. — αν, εc. ποιήσειε, wh. is readily understood fr. the connection, but inserted by inferior MSS. Cf. ώς αν (εc. εχοι), § 291. — τη πόλει: dat. dependent on δυσμενέστατος. — ἐπὶ τοῦς συμβάσιν, on the occurrence of the events. ἐπὶ expresses the occasion or opportunity upon wh. one bases his conduct. Cf. §§ 240, 284. — καὶ ἄμα: it is this remarkable coincidence that is referred to by ὅπερ... τοῦτο πεποιηκώς above. — 'Αρίστρατος: a different person fr. the tyrant of Sicyon named in § 48. We know nothing further of these partisans of Philip than what is here stated. — καθάπαξ, thorough-going, out-and-out.

§ 198. Έλληνων...ἀπέκατο: this sentence is hexametric in its rhythm. So § 143: τον γὰρ ἐν... Ἑλάτειαν; and τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, κ. τ. ἐ., § 188, acc. to Longinus, is dactylic. The ancient critics were fond of pointing out such instances; but such rhythmical structure is, we believe, more general and accidental than special and intentional. — ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπίκειτο, and surely the man for whom the misfortunes of the Greeks are laid up as a store on which to found his personal renown. ἐνευδοκιμεῖν = εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς. — καὶ = as; often so used in the second clause of a comparison; cf. H. 1042 a; Cu. § 624. 3; C. 705 c. — δηλοῖς, you make this mathifest; sc. οὐκ ἔνι, κ. τ. ἐ. — καὶ πολιτεύη καὶ, κ. τ. ἑ., and from

your political action and again from your political inaction. Kenn. — πράττεταί, κ. τ. έ.: this form of sentence is technically called ἀντιστροφή by the aucient rhetoricians. Other examples in this oration are found in §§ 117, 274. As an illustration from Roman oratory Diss. quotes Cic. Phil., II. 22: Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives; eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflicta est; afflixit Antonius. — ἀντέκρουσέ: cf. note § 161. — ῥήγματα: in medical terminology ῥήγματα is used of bruises of the fleshy parts and ruptures of blood-vessels, and σπάσματα of the sprains of muscles. — κινείται, are disturbed; i. e. the old injury or weakness makes itself felt again whenever the body becomes diseased. The same simile is used by the orator in Olynth., II., § 21: ωσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν...ἐπὰν δὲ ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῆ, πάντα κυεῖται, κὰν ῥῆγμα κὰν στρέμμα κὰν ἀλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχύντων σαθρὸν ἢ.

§ 199. πολύς... έγκεται, he lays great stress upon. The predicate adj. πολύς used st. an adv.; cf. πολλφ ρέοντι, § 136. Cf. H. 619; G. gr. § 138, N. 7; Cu. § 361. 8; C. 509 c.— ελ... ήν: he assumes, for the moment, that it is so.— τούτων ήν, ought the city to have abandoned these things; referring to the measures wh. he at that time advised the city to adopt.

§ 200. νῦν...τότε: cf. note § 195. — δοκεί, sc. ἡ πόλιs. — προεστάναι: alludes to the famous ἡγεμονία of the Athenian state. — ἀποστάσα: cf. πραχθέν, § 190; παρόντων ἡμῶν, § 30 and note. — πάντας, sc. τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις. — οὐδένα...οὐχ ὑπίμεναν, for whose sake there is no danger which our ancestors did not undergo. For the use of the negat. cf. H. 1031; Cu. § 619, Obs.; G. gr. § 283. 8; C. 559 c. — σοῦ: we naturally expect τῆς πόλεως here, but the orator suddenly turns the thought upon Æsch., as if he alone were capable of such meanness. — τῆς πόλεως...ἐμοῦ: in the same constr. as σοῦ; we supply είπω after μὴ: for let me not say "the city" (γε makes πόλεως emphatic), nor yet "me."

§ 201. et τὰ μὲν πράγματ'... ἡρημένης: this entire sentence forms the protasis to τἰσι... ἀφικνουμένους, and consists itself of two contrasted parts, sc.: εἰ τὰ μὲν πρ... ἀπάντων, and τὸν δ'... πεποιημένοι; but as the first part is subdivided into two parts, sc.: εἰ τὰ μὲν... περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ, we observe that μέν corresponding to δὲ in τὸν δ'... πεποιημένοι is omitted, the full expression being εἰ μὲν τὰ μὲν to correspond to ἡγεμῶν δὲ... τὸν δ'. With such contrast of principal and subordinate parts μέν is expressed both times in §§ 104, 214. — τὰ πράγματ'... περιέστη, if affairs had turned out as they now have.

§ 202. Επ. τούτων πρότερον: the Spartan supremacy was lost w. the battle of Leuctra, 371 B. C., when the Theban began. — τοῦ...βασιλέως: that Xerxes actually requested Mardonius to make the Athenians such an



offer is stated by Herod., VIII. 140, and alluded to by Dem. Phil., II., § 11. — τοῦτ', i. e. ὁ τι...προεστάναι. — ὁ τι...λαβούση...ἐχούση...τοιεῖν... ἐᾶν: a metathesis of construction for λαβεῖν...ἔχειν...ποιούση...ἐώση. Thus Dem. ironically represents the act of obeying in a state of subjection and of giving up the supremacy as a privilege. λαβούση of single acquisition, ἐχούση of permanent possession.

§ 203. •• δοικε: ironical; so also in § 212. — πάτρια: "πάτριος = that wh. is peculiar to ancestors; as εθη, νόμοι." Krüg. W. paraphrases these adjectives thus: "This they had not inherited fr. their fathers, nor was it consistent w. their ideas of honor (ἀνεκτὰ = to be tolerated by their moral sense), nor was it congenial to their nature."—ἐκ...χρόνου: cf. note § 26. — προσθεμένην, by attaching herself to; the partic. denotes means. — ἀγωνιζομένη, while struggling; the partic. denotes time. — κινδυνεύουσα: supplementary partic.: cf. H. 981; G M T. 879; Cu. § 590; C. 677 e.

§ 204. ήθεσιν: "character, as the result of manner and habits. ήθος = a prolonged and strengthened ℓθος. Cf. Aristot. Eth., II. 1." TYLER. — άποφηνάμενον, who declared himself in favor of. — Κυρσίλον: the connection shows that Dem. has the time just prior to the battle of Salamis in mind. Cic. de Offic., III. 11, speaks thus: "Cyrsilum quendam suadentem, ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus obruerunt." Herod., IX. 5, gives the same account, but of a man named Lycidas, and places the event just before the battle of Platea. That there were two victims to the popular excitement of those stirring times, both meeting with a similar death, is not impossible.

§ 205. βήτορα = here σύμβουλον, statesman. — δουλεύσουσιν, they might enjoy slavery; spoken w. a peculiar bitterness and irony of tone. The common reading inserts εὐτυχῶs after it. The use of the fut. indic. after an historical tense adds to the vividness of the expression; so also in εξέσται. Wh. remarks that by the use of the indic. here Dem. identifies the Athenians of the two different ages, and represents the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another. — The cipapperns, K. T. E., his destined end in the course of nature. Lord B. Death is represented (1) as fixed by destiny ($\tau \hat{\eta} s \mu o(\rho a s)$, in distinction fr. death brought upon one by his voluntary act; (2) as that wh. comes in the course of nature (as by disease), in distinction fr. death caused by external violence (as in battle). - δ δε και, sc. νομίζων γεγενησθαι. The και = also, i. e. as well as to his parents. — επιδείν = to live to see (any evil). Cf. Esch. Agam., 1246. - εθελήσει, will volunteer. The fut. (st. the pres., as in repuered) denotes that he will do this whenever the demand comes. In illustration of this change of tense cf. Soph. Antig., 349, 350. — 700 θανάτου: by its emphatic position = than death itself. Wh.

§ 206. el μέν...νῦν δ' ἐγὰ μέν...οῦνος δὲ: observe the double contrast between (1) what he was not doing and what he was doing; (2) between what he was doing and Æsch. was doing. — el ἐπεχείρουν...ἐν ἐπιπμήσειἐ: a mixed condit. sentence: if I were undertaking (as I am not), every one would censure me with good reason (were he to do what is reasonable). Cf. G M T. 504. — ὑμετέρας, are yours; predicative, and placed first for the sake of emphasis. Here Dem. purposely underestimates his own services in order to place the conduct of Æsch. in a more conspicuous light. — τῆς μέντοι διακονίας, but in the management of each of the affairs transacted I affirm that I also have a share. διακονίας is contrasted by means of μέντοι w. προαιρέσεις and φρύνημα; to correspond to μέντοι (= δέ) there should be μέν wh. is suppressed, as in § 201. W.

§ 207. τῶν δλων, the whole, i. e. both the aims (προαιρέσεις) and the administration (διακονία). This is a skilful turn of the orator: my part, he says, was merely to execute what you willed; your part was to cherish the noble purposes and adopt the most patriotic measures. Now Æschines attacks the whole, and in doing so commits a wrong against you greater than against me, inasmuch as your part was more prominent than mine, and the renown belonging to you is eternal, while the honor proposed for me is temporary. — γλίχεται is a strong word; acc. to its etymology it denotes a tenacious and eager striving. — ἐγκώμια: Arist. Rhet., I. 9, defines ἐγκώμιον as a special laudation bestowed for particular and brilliant action, while επαινος signifies praise in general. — τουδί, i. e. Ctesiphon. — τῆ...ἀγνωμοσύνη, by the perversences of fortune.

§ 208. µà τους Μαραθώνι, no! by those of our ancestors who bore the brunt of the danger at Marathon. The common reading has οὐ μα, but the negat. is readily understood w. µd. In the partic. the \(\pi \rho \)- implies the forc-front of the battle. So Thuc., I. 73, represents the Athenians as saying: Μαραθώνι τε μόνοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρφ. — Μαραθώνι: the common text has èv M.; but the prep. is regularly omitted w. the names of Attic demes. Cf. H. 783 b; Cu. § 442; C. 469 b. — ἐπ' ᾿Αρτεμισίφ, off Artemisium. It will be observed that the orator departs fr. the chronological order and names the land and the naval engagements in succession. - & τοις...μνήμασι: these were in the outer Ceramicus, along the road leading to the Academy. Cf. Pausan., I. 29; Thuc., II. 34. But the heroes of Marathon lay buried on the field of battle. The custom of honoring those who had fallen in battle w. a burial at the expense of the state, goes back to the time of Solon. Cf. § 285. — ομοίως: emphatic. This lofty strain of eloquence, known as "the Demosthenic oath," has been deservedly admired by all critics. Cf. Hermogenes, p. 425; Quint. Inst. Orat., XI. 3, 168; Lord Brougham, Vol. VII. 124. The chief points to be noted are



these: (1) This oath was an act of religious appeal, for wh. there was a sufficient ground in the belief and feelings of the audience; it was not, therefore, an empty rhetorical flourish. (2) As a solemn appeal it served to rebuke Æsch., who had brought Dem. into disparaging contrast (see the passages cited fr. Æsch.) w. the ancient heroes of Greece. (3) The simplicity of the orator's style is apparent even in his most impassioned flights. Lord B. thus expresses himself on the word dγαθούs: "Mark the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of diction, in the most touching parts of the old man cloquent's loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial-place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable it is here; yet the only one he applies is άγαθούς." (4) The orator, while apparently carried away by his enthusiasm and passion, does not for a moment lose sight of his argument, but carefully subordinates everything to the main thought. "He teaches us," says Longinus, "that in the height of passion we should retain our judgment. He nowhere says by those who were victorious,' but everywhere shuns the word wh. would indicate the issue of the battles, lest the defeat of Chæronea should be suggested to his opponents or his hearers; till at length he has prepared the way w. the hearers for the conclusion : all of whom ALIKE the state buried, and not those alone who were successful."

§ 209. γραμματοκύφων: ἀντὶ τοῦ γραμματέως, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προπεφυκότες γράφουσιν. Etym. Magnum. Cf. § 261. The two epithets may be rendered by accursed scribbler. — Theyes: cf. Æsch. § 181, cited on p. 92. — δυ τίνος, i. e. they were irrelevant to the present case. — ἐμὲ δέ, κ. τ. ἐ., and I, who came forward as councillor to the city in matters pertaining to her supremacy, whose spirit ought I to have assumed in ascending the Bema? — τριταγωνιστά: cf. note § 129. Observe the contrast implied in the juxtaposition of this epithet w. τῶν πρωτείων; also the emphatic position of ἐμὲ. — τούτων: masc., referring to the Athenians. Tyler follows Holmes in referring it to τρόπαια, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 210. τὰ...συμβόλαια: obj. of κρίνεω; lit. contracts, agreements, but here used of civil suits in a general sense. Cf. L. and Sc. — ἐπλ...σκοποῦντας, by considering them in the light of. For this sense of ἐπλ ω. σκοπεῖν cf. §§ 233, 294. — ἀποβλέποντας, by looking away to the praiseworthy precedents. — παραλαμβάνειν, to take along (παρά); depends on νομίζειν and has τὸ φρόνημα for its obj. — τῆ βακτηρία καὶ τῷ συμβόλφ: each dicast received a staff, on wh. was painted the letter of the alphabet corresponding to the section of the Heliastic court in wh. he was to serve for that day, and a ticket upon wh. the name of the holder and the number of his division were written. At the close of the sitting the σύμβολον was given up as a voucher for the dicast's fee of 3 obols. — τὰ δημόσια, the court-room. — ἐκείνων, i. e. τὰ τῶν προγύνων ἀξιώματα.

§ 211. 'Αλλὰ γὰρ, But enough, for; denotes a transition:— ἐμπεσὰν: as if casually.— ἔστιν ἃ = ἔνια.— ὁπόθεν, sc. ἐκεῖσε ὁπόθεν; the digression begins w. § 180.— ἀφικόμεθ', we had arrived; i. e. we ambassadors.— τῶν ἄλλων, sc. the Ætolians, Dolopians, Phthiotans.— πρέσβενε: Amyntas and Clearchus are named as the Macedonian envoys.— νῦν: to prove that I am not telling a different story now fr. what was told at the time of the embassy.

§ 212. συκοφαντίας, calumny. — τον καιρόν: cf. Æsch., § 137 (cited below) and § 141 (cited on p. 64). — τον καιρόν: cf. § 85. — τος ξοικεν: cf. § 203. — δ σύμβουλος και ρήτωρ: Diss. observes that the repetition of the article would be objectionable, as the ideas of σύμβουλος and ρήτωρ flow into each other. The article is repeated in ή προαίρεσις και ή πολιτεία (§ 93), τον τῆς είμαρμέτης και τον αὐτύματον (§ 205), τον πολιτευόμενον και τον ρήτορα (§ 278), where either the emphasis or a logical distinction seems to demand it. — σύδεν...συναίτιος: contrasted w. μώνος αίτιος. In those things wh. might naturally be supposed to have been done in part by me, as being a statesman, he allows me no share; but for those misfortunes wh. are in no way related to my calling and work, I am alone responsible. What consistency!

§ 213. ἐποιήσαντο, i. e. the Thebans.—ἐκείνους: the envoys fr. Philip and those fr. the other allies of Thebes, who had the precedence. —τὸ...κεφάλαιον = in summa. — ἀν = τούτων ἀ. — αὐτοὺς, i. e. the Thebans. — βούλονται: the direct for the indirect mode, to give vividness. — ἡ διέντας αὐτοὺς, either by allowing themselves (i. e. the same as ἐκείνους and subj. of ἡξίουν) a free passage through their territory (Βœοτία). — τὰ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Α. βοσκήματα: cf. § 44 and note. — ἐκ δὲ ἀν...πολέμου, while as the result of what they affirmed we were about to advise, their property in Bæotia would be plundered by means of the war. An argument, as W. remarks, that would have great force w. the selfish Thebans. — συντείνοντ', all aiming at the same result.

§ 214. ήμεις: the ellipsis of ελέγομεν immediately after ελεγον is not harsh. Some MSS. have αντείπομεν. — τὰ μὰν... ἐγὰ μὰν: cf. note § 201. — ἀντλ...τιμησαίμην, to repeat these things severally I would count worth all my life. — ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα: prolepsis for δέδοικα μὴ ὑμεῖς. — ἄσπερ ἄν εξ... ἡγούμενοι is elliptical; the full expression would be ἡγούμενοι ἄσπερ ἄν ἡγοῦσθε εἰ ἡγοῦσθε. Cf. Madv. G. S., § 139 c; H. 905 a, 3; C. 622 d; G M T. 227. Transl.: thinking that even a deluge, as it were, had sucpt over the events; i. e. all trace of them had become obliterated.

§ 215. perd rawra: this narrative is entirely contradictory to the statement of Æsch., §§ 137, 140, 141. Diss. thinks that such a bare misrepresentation as this of Æsch. (assuming that the account of Dem. is true) could not have been made unchallenged before the court; and he regards



the passage as a later insertion in the revised edition of Æsch. - Efire, έβοηθεῖτε: Bremi calls attention to the asyndeton as descriptive of rapid action. - wor' the two oakites, that, when our infantry and cavalry were encamped outside the walls. Reiske understands that the Theban infantry and cavalry vacated their own city for the occupation of the Athenian army This would be a "compliment" unheard of! and encamped outside. Besides, as Diss. observes, the distinctive pronouns your and their could not be wanting. Beeckh Econ., p. 387, speaks of the difficulty, owing to the laxity of discipline among the ancient soldiery, of obtaining permission to introduce an army into an allied city for quarters. The meaning seems plainly this: the Athenian forces after pitching their camps outside were invited to take up quarters in the houses of the Thebans; accordingly, την στρατιάν embraces as a general term των όπλιτων and των ίππέων. - καθ' υμών = ύπερ ύμων. So Phil., II., § 9: μέγιστον καθ' ύμων έγκώμιον. Contrariwise in Hom. Il., VI. 524, ὑπέρ = κατά: "Οθ' ὑπέρ σέθεν αἴσχε' ἀκούω. - σωφροσύνης, self-command, Wh.; good behavior, Kenn.; Enthaltsamkcit, Jacobs. — άμείνους: explanatory of άνδρίας; δικαιότερ' άξιοῦν explanatory of δικαιοσύνης. — και τά...και...δ', κ. τ. έ., and what is kept under the closest quard not only by themselves but also by all men.

§ 216. κατά γ' ύμας = quod ad vos quidem attinet. V. — ούτε... τε: negat. and affirm. correlated ; so often. — τὰς πρώτας : all the MSS. except Σ add μ áxas. W. is the only editor we know of, besides Z, that follows Σ . Another instance of such a verbal ellipsis is found in Lysias pro Mantith., § 15 : της πρώτης [sc. μάχης] τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοις πολεμίοις. But in our sentence we would more naturally supply παρατάξεις = manœuvres, skirmishes, fr. the preceding partic. W. thinks this admirably suited to the connection, as the allusion is probably to the preliminary marches and skirmishes by wh. the combined Thebans and Athenians sought to check the advance of Philip. - Too worayoo, i. e. the Cephissus, wh. flows through the plain of Elatea and enters Bœotia not far fr. Chæronea. - την χαμερινήν: critics are divided as to the application of this epithet, some making it mean the skirmish in the winter, others in the storm. But for the latter meaning the word is properly xeimépios. If, w. Grote, we suppose an interval of 10 months (fr. Oct. 339 to Aug. 338 B. c.) between the capture of Elatea and the battle of Chæronea, there is no difficulty in placing these encounters early in the spring of 338 B. C., and understanding χειμερινήν of a wintry time among the mountain passes of Phocis, where snow is sometimes found in the spring months. But if, w. Clinton Fast. Hellen., App., p. 16, we suppose that the battle of Chæronea occurred only 50 days after the news arrived of Philip's entrance into Phocis, we have no recourse left other than to say w. him, "the word χειμερινήν is probably corrupt."

NOTES.

§ 217. ζήλου, emulation, enthusiasm.— el μὰν...el δὲ...el: cf. ἐὰν δ΄...dr, § 178 and note.— el ὧν...μάρτυρας, if what he himself called the gods to witness as being most excellent; sc. by participating in the sacrifices, etc. (συνέθυε). — ψηφίσασθαι, i. e. by condemning Ctes., wh. would necessarily imply a condemnation of the orator's policy. — τοὺς θεούς: the gods by whom the judges were sworn were the same as those to whom Æsch. had sacrificed.— el δὲ μὴ παρῆν presents the other horn of the dilemma. Lord B. comments upon the exquisite diction, the majestic rhythm, the skilful collocation of this passage. The dilemma, he remarks, is better than the average dilemmas of oratory, and quite sufficient, though incomplete, for the momentary victory at wh. alone the orator often aims. What retort could Æsch. obviously have made?

§ 218. Θηβαίοι...νομίζειν, but the Thebans were in the belief that they had been preserved through us. The careful student will have noticed before this the fondness of Dem. for infinitive clauses w. the article. — τοῦς νομίζουσιν, i. e. ἡμῶν. So reads Σ; all other MSS. have δοκοῦσιν. V. supposes νομίζουσιν to be a corruption due to the proximity of νομίζειν. — οῦτοι refers to Æsch. and his associates. — ἔπεμπεν: the imperf. denotes the frequency of this correspondence, the object of wh. was to incite his allies in the Peloponn. war to render him more prompt assistance. Cf. § 156. — συνίχεια, κ. τ. ἐ., my persistence, and my wunderings (sc. his πρέσβειαι), and my hardships. — διόσυρε: there is no passage in Æsch. speech where this is done. — τί is placed last for the sake of emphasis. Cf. πῶς, § 235.

§ 219. Καλλίστρατος, that distinguished Callistratus. He was the most eminent orator of his period, and is said to have incited Dem. when a boy to the study of eloquence by his speech on Oropus. — 'Αριστοφών: cf. § 70. — Κέφαλος: cf. § 251. — Θρασύβουλος: the famous deliverer of Athens fr. the rule of the Thirty Tyrants, 403 B. c. — διά παντὸς = ἀπλῶτ. Cf. §§ 88, 179. — ὑπίλειπε, was wont to reserve for himself privately. ὑπό expresses the underlying motive. — εί τι γένοιτ', euphemistic for in case of a calamity. — ἀναφοράν, a final resource, a means of recovery.

§ 220. οῦτως: very emphatic; join w. μέγαν είναι. — ἐδόκε, sc. ὁ κίνδυνος. — χώραν οδδὲ πρόνοιαν, that it seemed to me to allow no opportunity nor even forethought for personal safety. τῆς ἀσφαλείας belongs gramm. to πρόνοιαν, but logically also to χώραν wh. would be followed by the dat. — ἀγαπητὸν είναι, one must be content. The orator means to say that in his opinion duty to country should in such a crisis overshadow all personal considerations, and one should be thankful if he were able to discharge that duty.

§ 221. ὑπὸρ = περὶ: cf. note § 9. — γράφοντ' ἀν: the partice express the condition (cf. §§ 30, 190); ἀν to be taken w. the infin. γράψαι, πρᾶξαι, ποεσβεῦσαι. — μηδὲ, nor even. — ἐν πῶσιν....ἔταττον, in all public affairs I



NOTES.

constantly made myself the foremost. W. considers the phrase nearly synonymous w. εδωκα εμαυτόν in §§ 179, 197, 219.

§ 222. Eis ταῦτα, κ. τ. έ.: the rhetorical order of the Greek may be imitated in Engl.: This is the condition into which, etc.; this is the utterance which, etc.— ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους, he who before this hurled many defiant boasts against the city. φωνην ἐπαίρευ, § 291, = to lift up the voice in loud tones.— Διώνδας: cf. § 249. Acc. to the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators, 848 c, Diondas prosecuted not only the authors of this decree, Demomeles and Hyperides, but also Aristonicus (§ 223).— τὸ μέρος: cf. note § 103.— ἀποπεφευγότα, acquitted, rarely used of things.

§ 223. 'Αριστόνικος: cf. note § 83, where the decree of Demom. and Hyper. is taken as a single one, and that of Ctes. is regarded as third in order. — συγκατηγόρησεν: the usages of Athenian law-courts permitted the prosecutor to associate w. himself several assistants in making complaint and in carrying on the suit. Cf. Meier and Schöm. Att. Proc., p. 710. — Δημομίλη: a cousin of Dem. A. Schaef., II. 528, conjectures that the crowning proposed by Demom. occurred at the great Dionysia, April, 338 B. c., and that proposed by Hyper. at the Panathenaic festival, August, 338 B. c. I prefer the view of W., that Hyper. was only incidentally connected w. the crowning proposed by Demom. — μάλλον...εἰκότως, more properly than this man, i. e. Ctes.; simply because it is more fitting to punish the first offence than the second after the first has been passed by unnoticed.

§ 224. τῷδε: refers to Ctes.; ἐκείνους to the persons just mentioned; τοῦτον αὐτὸν to Æsch.; οδτος to Ctes. again. — ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ², to refer to (as a precedent). The force of the prep. remains throughout the sentence. — περὶ τῶν οῦτω πραχθέντων, i. e. legally settled. A suit once decided could not be renewed in an Athenian court of law. But the suit brought by Æsch. was not exactly identical w. that brought by Diondas against Demom. and Hyper.; so that the spirit of the law, rather than its letter, is meant, and the argument of Dem. is a moral rather than a legal one. — τότε, in that case; i. e. supposing Æsch. had brought suit in the first instance. — τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ. τ. ἑ, the real question (i. e. whether Dem. was deserving of a crown or not) would have been tried on its own merits, before it had obtained any of these precedents. These points seem well taken.

§ 225. οίμαι: ironical. — ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, κ. τ. ἐ.: he means the transactions connected w. the peace of Philocrates. — μήτε...μηδείς, st. οὖτε...οὐδείς, because there is a shade of uncertainty in the thought, wh. is implied in οίμαι. — προφάσεις: cf. note § 156. — δοκείν τι λέγειν, to seem to speak to the purpose. οὐδὲν λέγειν = to speak to no purpose.

§ 226. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας : cf. note § 17. — μόνον ούκ = all but. — τοὺς ... φυγών : the same point is made in § 15. — κρίσιν : suhj. of ἔσεσθαι.

§ 227. περὶ ἡμῶν, i. e. Æsch. and himself. Dem. makes the illustration of his rival apply to them both. This idea is brought out more fully in the sentence: οὐ γὰρ ἔν μεταπείθειν, κ. τ. ἐ., § 228. — περιείναι χρήματά τψ, that money remains over in the hands of some one. The figure is taken fr. trade or banking business. — καθαιρῶσιν, lit. if the pebbles cancel or remove, sc. one's credit of money (τὰ χρήματα); i. e. if accounts balance. This sense of καθαιρείν seems somewhat forced; αἰρεῖν in the passage cited fr. Æsch. is to be taken in much the same way, and ἀντανελεῖν (lit. to take up on the opposite side), § 231, has the same sense. Other Editt. except V. read καθαραί του, wh. is explained as referring to clearing away the pebbles from the board (cf. ἀβάκιον, Λbacus, Dict. Antiq.) in opposite columns of debit and credit, until the whole board is cleared and accounts balance.

§ 228. σοφοῦ, "sapient." Lord B. — ὑπάρχαν ἐγνωσμένους: cf. § 95. οὐ γὰρ ἄν, κ. τ. έ., for he would not be seeking to change your mind, if there were not such an opinion as this existing in regard to each of us. Dem. proves himself skilful in retort.

§ 229. τιθείς ψήφους, by casting up accounts. — οὐτος λογισμός: οὐτος is predicate; for the mode of reckoning public deeds is not this (i. e. the arithmetical, but another).

§ 230. παραταξαμένους: in agreement w. αὐτούς supplied fr. Θηβαίους and subj. of κωλύεω. — ἐπτακόσια στάδια: cf. note § 195. — τοὺς ληστάς: cf. note §§ 145, 241. — ψέρειν καὶ ἄγειν = to plunder. — ἐν εἰρήνη: antithetic position to τὸν πόλεμον. — ἐκ θαλάττης, from the sea reckoning landwards, hence on the side of the sea; referring to the security of the coasts fr. predatory invasions. — λαβόντα, after he should have taken Byzantium; to be taken in close connection w. Philip's conceived (not actual) occupation of the Hellespont.



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wh. were prevented by his policy would have been the legitimate result of his rival's conduct. And we understand this inquiry to be directed, as the one just before, to Esch., and w. a touch of sarcasm. The thought, then, of the passage is this: when Æsch. asks the Athenians to change their opinion respecting Dem. by taking into consideration the debit side of his account, Dem. responds: "let our accounts stand as they are; they are not to be cast up and balanced as trading accounts, and then forgotten." προστίθημι, add to the account; a mercantile term in harmony w. the preceding λογισμός. — έν οίς, in those cases in which. — καθάπαξ: cf. § 197. erfoces means the Phocians and Locrians, also the Thebans after the battle of Chæronea. - της φιλανθρωπίας refers to Philip's generous and kind treatment of the Athenians after the battle of Chærones. Fraym. 1, says: Εγραψα και Φιλίππφ τιμάς · ούκ άρνοθμαι. δισχιλίους γάρ αίχμαλώτους άνευ λύτρων, και χίλια πολιτών σώματα χωρίς κήρυκος, και τόν 'Ωρωπών άνευ πρεσβείας λαβών ύμεν ταθτ' έγραψα. Cf. also Polyb., V. 10. περιβαλλόμενος, with a view to accomplishing the rest of his purposes. περιβάλλεσθαι = to compass or embrace in one's plans; cf. Isocr. Panegyr., § 184. - καλώς ποιούντες, happily; indicating the subjective feeling of the speaker, = I am happy to say. The difference between this and καλώς πράττοντες is clearly shown in Dem. c. Leptin., § 110: ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιούντες, και κατά τάς κοινάς πράξεις και κατά την όμωνοιαν και κατά τάλλα πάντα δμεινον έκείνων πράττετε.

§ 232. παραδείγματα πλάττων, manufacturing illustrations; such e. g. as that of the ψῆφοι. — ῥήματα σχήματα: the former Cic., Orat. VIII., understands of the criticism Æsch. (§§ 72, 166) made upon several expressions used by Dem.; the latter word may refer to the mimicking of certain gestures peculiar to Dem., wh. were, perchance, not altogether in precise keeping (cf. Æsch., § 167) w. the artificial rules of the schools. — πάνυ γὰρ, for altogether in consequence of this — don't you see? — have come about the affairs of the Greeks. A similar ironical use of οὐχ ὀρῆς is found in § 266. — παρήνεγκα, I extended my hand on this side, but not on that side.

§ 233. ἐπ'...ἐσκόπει: cf. note § 210. — ἀφορμὰς, resources; particularly financial, as distinct fr. military (δυνάμεις). — ἐπιστὰς: cf. § 60. — ἐποίησα... ἐδείκννεν: notice the diff. in the tenses: if I had made...he would (now) point out. — χρήσομαι τῷ λόγφ, I shall make the statement; an emphatic paraphrase for λέξω.

§ 234. τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους: when the peace of S46 B. C. was concluded, Athens had control over Peparethos, Proconnesos, Tenedos, Thasos, Sciathos, in addition to Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, Samos, wh. belonged to her as dependencies. Chios and Rhodes had torn themselves loose in the Social War, 357-355 B. C.; about the same time also occurred the revolt of

Corcyra. — σύνταξιν: a euphemistic word, whose origin Harpocr. explains: ξλεγον τοὺς φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδή χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἑλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων δνομα. Bæckh Publ. Econ., p. 544, surmises that this contribution was subsequently increased (cf. § 237) to as much as 400 talents. Cf. Dem. Phil., IV., § 37 ff. This contribution was made under the new Athenian confederacy formed in 377 B. c. See Grote, X., cap. 77. — προεξειλεγμένα, collected in advance, anticipated. Cf. Dem. Phil., I., § 34. — ὁπλίτην... ἱππάα: an instance of asyndeton. Cf. § 67. — τῶν οἰκείων, the citizen-soldiery; the same as τῶν πολιτικῶν, § 237, in distinction fr. mercenary troops wh. are meant by ὁπλίτην, ἰππέα and ξένοι (§ 237). — φοβερώτατον, sc. ῆν. — οῦτοι: Æsch. and his associates.

§ 235. πῶς, sc. ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα. — προλέγων...βουλευόμενος...φεύγων... ὑπεύθυνος: a most lifelike picture of the comparative weakness and strength of a democratic and despotic form of government. Cf. Isocr. Nicocl., § 19. Larned compares Canning's description of Bonaparte's power: "He asks no counsel, he renders no account, he wields at will the population and resources of a mighty empire and its dependent states."

§ 236. και γὰρ τοῦτ': the force of και = also falls upon τοῦτ', wh. refers by anticipation to τίνος κύριος ἢν. — πρῶτον has no corresponding εἶτα expressed; the next point in the enumeration is δσα...περιγένουτο. — σὖ μόνου μετεῖχον: his only privilege, as compared w. the advantages of Philip, was that of haranguing the people, and this he had to share w. his opponents. — περιγένουτο, and whatever successes these gained over me; he means in the discussions and resolutions of the Assembly. — δι'...ἢν.. πρόφασιν, through whatever pretext each success might chance to arise. ἔκαστον = τὸ περιγενέσθαι. With τόχοι supply γιγνόμενον. — ταῦθ'...βεβουλευμένοι, these you adopted in favor of the enemy, and then took your departure (sc. fr. the Assembly).

§ 237. ἐκ, out of; i. e. as starting-points. — Meyapéas is written Meyapeis, § 234. — τῶν πολιτικῶν: cf. note § 234. — συντέλειαν, joint contribution. — δσων...πλείστην: δσην would be the usual constr.; the genit. is due to attraction. A decree found at the close of the Lives of the Ten Orators states that this contribution amounted to more than 500 talents.

§ 238. τά...δίκαια, our just dues as regards the Thebans. He alludes to the complaints of Æsch. contained in § 143, wh. is cited on p. 85. — τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους: cf. note § 95. — τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοίας: cf. Æsch., §§ 92, 93. — τῶν ἱσων: "τὰ ἱσα hoc loco sunt æquæ portiones sumptuum in bellum faciendorum." Schaef.— τῶν...τριήρων: genit. of the whole depending on τὰς διακοσίας. — τριακοσίων: the whole number of ships at the battle of Salamis is given by Thue., I. 74, acc. to some MSS., as 300, acc. to other MSS., as 400, of wh. Athens furnished two thirds. Herod., VIII. 48, says there

were 378, and of these 180 were Athenian. — ¿λαττοῦσθα, to be defrauded. Dem. turns into a meritorious act what Æsch. had censured as an injustice practised upon the city by Thebes, through the venality of Dem.

§ 239. κενάς, κ. τ. έ.: you confer upon these (i. e. the Athenians) empty favors in calumniating me; empty, because so entirely useless after all was over. — παράν, i. e. in the Assembly, as εγραφες shows. — ἐνεδέχετο, if, indeed, they (ταῦτα) admitted of it, sc. πράττευ; i. e. if they were practicable. — παρά = διά: on account of, under the existing circumstances. Schaef. But the sense seems quite as good if we take it as in παρ' αὐτὰ τάδικήματα, § 13, = at the moment of; implying that the crises were such as to demand instantaneous action, when they had to accept what they could get, without deliberating upon what they might wish to have. — δσα ήβουλόμεθα: the indic. denotes what is definite; δοίη, the optat., denotes what is indefinite. — καὶ...καὶ, not only...but also. — τοὺς...ἀπελαυνομένους: W. takes in a hypothetical sense, and as referring to the Thebans and others who were negotiating for an alliance w. Athens, in case they should be repulsed through the exorbitant demands of the Athenians.

§ 240. νῦν, as the case stands. — κατηγορίας: the plural, since there were many points embraced in the one formal accusation. — ἀν adds emphasis to τί and modifies ποιεῖν...λέγειν below, where it is repeated. Cf. G M T. 223, 224. — τούτων, i. e. τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια in § 238. — ἀκριβολογουμένου: deriv.? chaffering, haggling.

§ 241. ούχ, sc. &ν ξλεγον. — βουλόμενοι refers to the people of the πόλεις above. — εἶτα, furthermore; it continues the question in the direct form introduced by ούχ; the whole is summed up at the close in ούκ &ν ταῦτ' ξλεγον. — τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, κ. τ. ἐ.: the calamities wh. in § 230 he named as the impending results of the policy of his rival, the orator here sums up in a different order as likely to be laid to his charge by Æsch., had he not prevented them. His enemies now find fault w. the means by wh. he averted the calamities wh. they were preparing; but these very calamities, had they occurred, they would have laid at his door; they were bound to blame him anyhow. — στοπομπίας: cf. note § 87. — τῶν ληστῶν: cf. note § 145. — καλ...γε, yea...and.

§ 242. φύσει κίναδος: cf. note § 162. — τάνθρώπιον, manikin, apology for a man; the neuter and the diminutive combining to form the contemptuous term. — αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος: an allusion, probably, to his extravagant imitations and mimicries on the stage. — ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος: cf. note § 180. — δεινότης, power as an orator, eloquence. — πατρίδι: for the omission of the art. cf. § 170. — νῦν, now at last, to-day; this emphasis belongs to it also in νῦν λέγεις; § 243.

§ 243. Gove dv et: the ellipsis (cf. § 194) is somewhat as follows: to do

so is just as absurd as it would be (ωσπερ & εί) if, etc. — ἀσθενούσι, κ. τ. ἐ., visiting his patients in the course of their sickness. On the parallel passage in Æsch. given below, see Introduction, p. xv. — τὰ νομιζόμενα, the customary rites were being performed over him. — τὸ καὶ τὸ, this and that, so and so; an instance of the original demonstrative use of the article — ἄνθρωπος: Bekk.'s emendation for ἀνθρωπος of the MSS., on the ground that the art. is needed w. the demonstr. pronoun. — εἶτα νῦν, do you then now at last (when all is over) speak?

§ 245. μαλακίαν σκώπτων, scoffing at the same man for covardice. In allusion to the charge of Æsch. that he had fled fr. his post on the field of battle. This story, first found in Æsch., grew as it was repeated, until in the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 845, it is narrated as a fact, that Dem., as he was fleeing fr. the battle-field, became entangled in a bramble-bush, and panic-stricken turned to the bush, saying: "Spare my life and take me prisoner!" Against this charge the orator finds a sufficient defence in this and the succeeding sections. — της...ψυχης: commentators are uncertain whether to take this as courage, temper, or as life.

§ 246. πάσαν ξέτασιν, a full examination. — οὐ παραιτούμαι: I do not beg off. — πέπρακταί: Grote, XI. 121, remarks upon this claim of Dem.: "The first Philippic is alone sufficient to prove, how justly Dem. lays claim to the merit of having 'seen events in their beginnings' and given timely warning to his countrymen."— πολιτικά = οἰκεία; which are inherent and unavoidable defects belonging to all popular governments. πόλις is used here in the sense of πολιτεία. Cf. Isocr. Nicocl., § 17 ff., for a comparison between democratic and monarchical government. — ώς: separated fr. the superlative by a prep. Cf. § 288. — προτρέψαι, sc. τὰς πόλεις. — ούδεις μή εύρη = οὐ μή τις εύρη. For οὐ μή w. subj. cf. G M T. 294, 295; H. 1032; Cu. § 620; C. 627.

\$ 247. τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν, by promises and bribes to those in power.



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Cf. note § 45. — τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων, of the deeds done in this department; i. e. as κύριος and ἡγεμῶν τῶν δυνάμεων. — τῷ διαφθαρήναι, in the matter of being bribed by money or not. τῷ διαφθ. is dat. respect. — ὁ ἀνούμενος, the bidder. — τὸ κατ' ἐμέ: the logic is clear: by two means Philip conquered, sc. arms and bribery. But with arms I had nothing to do, and as to bribery, I proved myself incorruptible; ergo, the defeat of the city is chargeable to me neither in this nor in that.

IV. §\$ 248-290. DEMOSTHENES DEFENDS HIS POLICY AGAINST THE CHARGE OF BEING UNFORTUNATE; COMPARES THE FORTUNE OF ATHENS WITH THAT OF OTHER STATES, AND HIS OWN FORTUNE WITH THAT OF RESCHINES; AND FINALLY APPEALS FOR VINDICATION OF HIS POLICY TO THE INDORSEMENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER THE BATTLE OF CHERONEA. 'A μλy: relat. clause precedes for the sake of emphasis. — τοῦτον: Ctesiphon. ταθτα: wh. have been enumerated. — έμεις, sc. παρέσχεσθε είς τὸ, κ. τ. έ. - την μάχην: of Chærones. - θαυμαστον ην, when it would not have been at all surprising, if the multitude had become disaffected towards me. For θαυμαστον ήν cf. note on εξήρκει, § 196. - πρώτον μέν: fearing an immediate attack fr. Philip, the Athenians placed their city in a state of defence w. all possible speed. Read the graphic account given by Lycurgus in his speech against Leocrates, §§ 39 - 44, of the state of feeling at Athens in consequence of the descat at Chæronea. — πάνθ'...διδ τῶν ἐμῶν ψ.: an inexcusable exaggeration. The proposal to place the Peiræus in a state of defence, to make the Metics citizens, to set free a portion of the slaves, to restore to citizenship those who had lost their political rights, to bring the women and children to the Peiræus for safety, was made by Hyperides the orator. — The els The Telxy xp.: the hasty and tumultuous preparations of defence described by Lycurg. l. c. are meant, for wh. a special contribution seems to have been made. Cf. §§ 171, 312. — σιτώνην, grain commissioner. Special commissions were appointed in time of war and of unusual scarcity to procure an extra importation of grain.

§ 249. perd ταῦτα: when the excitement had died away, and Philip had announced through Demades his friendly intentions. — συστάντων: without the art. to make it indefinite. — γραφός, se. παρανόμων, as appears fr. εννομα γράφεω in § 250. — εὐθένας, comp'aints for maladministration. — εἰσαγγαλίας: cf. note § 13. — τό γε πρώτον, at first; the emphasis of γε indicates that they did later. The leaders of the Macedonian faction had to move cautiously, as there was still strong sympathy w. Dem. among the people. — ἐκρινόμην, I was brought to trial. — Σωσικλέονς: nothing further than what is here mentioned is known of him nor of Μελαντος. — Φιλοκράτους: not the same person as the one mentioned in § 21, but of Eleusis. — Διάνδου: cf. § 222. — τοίνυν resumes the thought interrupted by the

long parenthesis. — τοῦτο, i. e. τὸ δικαίως ἐμὲ σωθήναι. — γνόντων τὰ εδορκα, gave a verdict in accordance with their oath.

§ 250. το μέρος: cf. § 103. — ἐπιστημαίνεσθε, you were indorsing; lit. setting the seal upon, spoken of the logistæ. The force of the impf. in all these verbs must not be overlooked. — οὐχ δ...τιθίμενον, not that (name) which he saw the people affixing. — δημον... δικαστάς... ἀλήθαιαν: correspond in their order to the different kinds of trial referred to by Dem. above; thus, the εἰσαγγελία was tried before the demus, the γραφή παρανόμων before the dicasts, and the εὐθύνη before the logistæ where the trial was an issue of fact.

§ 251. τοῦ Κεφάλου: a statesman who flourished at the time of the restoration of the democracy under Thrasybulus. He was instrumental in uniting Thebes and Athens during the Corinthian war. — τὸ... φεύγαν, but it was the honor of Cephalus that he was never indicted. — μᾶλλον, sc. διὰ τοῦτο: the sense is: why should a man who has never been convicted, but often been tried, on this account be held in reproach more justly than the man who has never been on triul? — πρός γε τοῦτον, as far as this man (Æsch.) is concerned. — ἐγράψατό...ἐδίωξε: the former verb denotes the act of bringing in the bill, the latter that of carrying it through the court. — μηδὲν, st. οὐδέν, because it is as the acknowledgment of Æsch. (not as the absolute fact) that he is in no respect a worse citizen.

§ 252. ἐγὼ...ἡγοθμαι...ἐτέρφ: this sentence passed into a proverb, and is found in the *Florilegium* of Stobæus. — ἡν γὰρ: the relat. precedes the antecedent ταύτης. By beginning the transl. w. πῶς χρὴ, κ. τ. ἐ., the student will make a clearer Engl. sentence. — χρῆται τῷ λόγφ: cf. § 233. — ἀνθρωπινώτερον: the sense is with a more just notion of human life.

§ 253. Δωδωναίον: the oracle of Zeus at Dodona was the most venerable of all the Greek oracles, although long ago superseded in influence by that of Apollo at Delphi. It may be that the orator purposely passes the Delphic oracle by from a suspicion of its truthfulness and patriotism, — a suspicion attributed to him by Æsch. in the words φιλιππίζεω τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων.— ἢ νῦν ἐπέχει, which now prevails.— τίς γὰρ...πεπείραται: at this time Thebes was in ruins, the recent uprising against Macedon in the Peloponnesus had been quelled by Antipater, and Alexander was in the midst of his conquests in Asia.

§ 254. τὸ... ἄμενον πράττεν, and to fare better than. — διάξειν in the oratio recta would be διάξουσιν. Regularly, what mode would be found here? — τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης: partit. genit. Athens, though under the Macedonian yoke w. the rest of the Greek states, preserved its independence in affairs of home government much better than those Peloponnesian states (τῶν οἰηθέντων...διάξειν) that had stood aloof fr. the struggle against

Philip. — τὸ δὰ προσκρούσαι, and that there were reve ses: the sentence is the obj. of μετειληφέται, wh., like μεταδίδωμι and μετέχω, may be followed by the accus, as well as by the partit. genit. — τὸ μέρος: in appos. w. the preceding infinitives; as that portion of the fortune of the rest of mankind which has been allotted to us.

§ 255. **LSiav...èv τοῖε lSioue**, personal...in personal affairs; not in public matters. This is in reply to the charge of Æsch. that the misfortunes of the state were partly due to the ill-starred fortune of Dem. — ὑμῖν, sc. δοκεῦν fr. δοκῶ. Inferior MSS. add συνδοκεῖν. — ὁ δὶ, in contrast w. ἐγὼ μὲν. — κυριωτίραν, paramount to; i. e. more effective for weal or woe.

§ 256. πάντως, altogether, at any rate; modifies the idea of προαιρε: εξετάζειν. — μου πρός Διός: the same order is found in § 199. — ψυχρότητα, folly, Lord B.; bad taste, Kenn.; coldness, indifference, L. and Sc.; ungenerous feeling is the excellent rendering of Holmes, who explains the word as denoting "a lack of that human warmth of heart and sympathy which would naturally produce great tenderness of word and deed towards the unfortunate." — προπηλακίζει: cf. προπηλακισμόν, § 12. — ἀναγκάζομαι: the orator makes the same excuse in § 126. — ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων, under the existing circumstances; lit. out of the things possible, i. e. as material.

§ 257. Td mporficorta bibarkaleia, it was my lot to attend respectable schools when I was a boy; in distinction fr. the schools attended by his A Greek school education, as described by Plato Protag., p. 325, consisted of (1) $\gamma \rho \dot{a} \mu \mu a \tau a = language spoken and written;$ (2) literature, or the study of authors; (3) music, including rhythm; (4) εὐκοσμία = good principles and proper behavior. Before τὰ προσήκοντα all MSS. except Σ and L. have uer but pour ar els = to attend upon; this reading may have arisen fr. the desire to obviate the harshness of the constr. that joins $\dot{v}\pi\hat{\eta}\rho$ yer first w. a subst. and then w. an infin. (Exeu). - Soa ... Evbaav: the father of Dem. left property to the value of 14 talents. How dishonestly this estate was administered by the guardians of Dem., so that but a small fraction of it fell to him as inheritance, we learn fr. his speech against Aphobus, I., §§ 4-11. — Εξελθόντι, i. e. when he became an Εφηβος. — ακόλουθα τούτοις, in keeping with these (my) circumstances. — χορηγείν, to act as choragus. See Dict. Antiq. Dem. is known to have been choragus in 350 B. C., when the difficulty w. Midias occurred. Cf. Orat. c. Mid., § 13. - τριηραρχείν: cf. note § 102. The duties of trierarch were performed by Dem. several times: once in the Eubœan war (357 B. c.); cf. § 99. His guardians had him enrolled in the first class, and he was for 10 years ήγεμών συμμορίας. Cf. §§ 102, 103. — είσφέρειν, to contribute. Notum est dici de tributo extraordinario ad belli necessitates. Diss. - φιλοτιμίας,

acts of liberality, Kenn.; Freigebigkeit, Jacobs. Two such acts of generosity are alluded to in § 268. — wpds ta kourd = upon public life. — wollans to technology of the control of the c

§ 258. Δν έχων = Δν έχοιμ: cf. note § 96. The partic. w. concessive force occurs without Δν in §§ 138, 264. — ψυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσαί = φυλ. μὴ λυπήσω. Cf. G M T. 374. — σεμνύνομαι: here used w. ἐν, but in § 259 w. ἐπί. The antec. of of may be understood as τοῖς πράγμασι. — σεμνυνόμενος: this word is repeated w. a certain degree of bitterness. — ποία τινὶ, what sort of a; the addition of τὶς adds to the indefiniteness of the question. W. remarks that this entire passage now following, as well as that contained in § 129, is to be regarded as the revenge of Dem. for his rival's similar attack upon him. (Cf. Æsch., § 171 ff.) We could wish that the orator's revenge had been, instead of this, a dignified and contemptuous silence. — τρίβων: the ink was probably prepared, like our India ink, by rubbing from a cake. — οἰκέτου, κ. τ. ἑ., having the rank of a menial, not of a gentleman's son.

§ 259. Telovon, engaged in the rites of initiation. The allusion is to the celebration of Orphic-Bacchic mysteries of Phrygian origin, wh., though under the public ban, had gained at that time considerable foothold in Greece, owing to the prevalent taste for semi-religious excesses. The deity who was worshipped in these rites was Sabazius or Sabadius, the son of Rhea or Cybele, who in later times was identified w. Dionysus Sabazius. Cf. Aristoph. Av., 875. — Biblous: Plato Republ., II. 7, speaks of the large number and extensive influence of soothsayers and priests, who carried about with them volumes of oracular sayings and formulæ of consecration, wh. they pretended came from Orpheus and Museus. - νεβρίζων, wrapping in faun-skins (sc. the novitiates). - kpatholius is defined by Phot. Lex. as οίνον άπὸ κρατήρων έν τοῖς μυστηρίοις σπένδων. — απομάττων is explained by Wyttenbach (ad Plut. de Superstit., p. 166) as follows: "Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinseretur imprimis luto $[\pi\eta\lambda\hat{\varphi}]$, tum abstergeretur $[\pi\iota\tau\dot{\nu}\rho\sigma\iota s]$, quorum illud est περιμάττειν hoc άπομάττειν, sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur. - avioras: the candidate seems to have been in a lying or sitting posture during the process of purification. Cf. Aristoph. Nub., 255. - Εφυγον, κ. τ &: a formula wh. signified that one had passed into a new life. It was used also in certain nuptial ceremonies.

§ 260. φθέγγεσθαι μέγα: Æsch. seems to have had good lungs and a fine voice, wh., if we may credit Dem. (cf. §§ 280, 285, 313), he used not without ostentation. — καλούς: ironical. — τῷ μαράθψ και τῆ λεύκη: the

fennel plant possessed the property of charming serpents; the white poplar was believed to grow in Hades, and served as a symbol of life and death. Harpocr. Lex. says that those initiated in the Bacchic mysteries were crowned w. the white poplar, because Dionysus was a θεὸς χθόνιος. — τοὺς rapelas, squeezing the puffy-checked snakes; so called fr. their large puffy cheeks (wapela); they were thought to be harmless. Cf. Etym. Magn., 653; Aristoph. Plut., 690. The use of serpents in the Bacchic services is alluded to also by Eurip. Bacch., 697. - evot casot, Euoi Saboi! a Bacchic exclamation, whose origin grammarians give variously : εὐοῖ fr. εὖ οἰ, $\epsilon \tilde{v}$ σοί, $\epsilon \tilde{v}$ οἱ (μύσται), $\epsilon \tilde{v}$ υἱέ; σαβοῖ fr. σαβός (= βάκχος) = one who has been initiated into the mystery of Sabactos, the Phrygian Barros. - une arms. Hucs Attes! on is generally taken as simply an exclamation w. drrns, and arrns as an equivalent of Σαβάζιος. The name "Arrns is found in Pausan... VII. 17, § 5. The whole is supposed to be the opening or the refrain of a Bacchic street chorus, that was accompanied by dances and contortions of the body. - Kapyos, leader of the choir, chorister. - mponyemen, leader of the procession, marshal. — κιττοφόρος, adorned with ivy; Attic for κισσοφόρος. The ivy was sacred to Dionysus. This is the MSS. reading; but Reiske, Bekk., Taylor, and others follow Harpoer., Suid., Phot., and read κιστοφόρος = bearer of the chest (wh. contained the sacred utensils). V. contends that it is improbable that the same person should be both κιστοφόpos and λικνοφόροs if they mean different things, and that both words should be used if they mean the same thing. - Evepvura, sops; acc. to Photius they were bits of bread sopped in wine and sprinkled over w. pulse. — στρεπτούς, twists (στρέφω). — νεήλατα were, acc. to Harpocr., fresh-ground barley-cakes dipped in honey and studded w. raisins and chick-peas.

§ 261. όπωσδήποτε = quocumque modo; implying that it was in a way anything but creditable. Cf. note § 130. The enrolment in the register of citizens was made at the expiration of the 17th year of one's age. — γραμματεύεν: cf. §§ 162, 209. — τοις άρχιδίοις, the petty officials. — άπηλλάγης: by the choice of this word he wishes to imply that it was a hard and disagreeable service to wh. Æsch. had been bound. — τφ̂... βίφ, by your subsequent career.

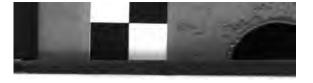
§ 262. τοῖς βαρυστόνοις, nicknamed the groaners; probably fr. their ridiculous overacting of the pathetic. — Σιμύλφ: Demochares in Vita Æsch., p. 246, mentions the fact that Æsch. wandered w. these strolling players through the land and appeared on "the provincial boards" in the celebration of the rural Dionysia. — ἐτριταγωνίστεις: cf. § 129. — συλλέγων, gathering from the orchards of others, just as a fruit-huckster. The country Dionysia occurred at the time of the vintage. Æsch. is represented here, acc. to

one view, as going about the country gathering up fruit, either as a thief or as a beggar; acc. to another view, as picking up fr. the stage the fruit w. wh. the audience pelted him and his associates for their poor acting. If the latter view is correct, it is difficult to see what έκ τῶν ἀλλοτρ. χ. refers to. since it is wholly superfluous w. όπωρώνης. — πλείω λαμβάνων: the sense is obscure. Most critics understand these words to mean that Æsch. harvest of fruit was greater than his earnings as an actor, τῶν ἀγώνων referring to the dramatic contests in which you (the actors) were engaged at the peril of your life. By taking dγώνων to refer to contests between the spectators and the actors the gloss τραύματα after τούτων, wh. is omitted by Σ alone. crept into the text. Others understand the allusion to be to the blows received by him as a vagrant in the orchards. But Dem. would not say : "you received more blows from this calling than from your acting," when he states immediately afterward that they acted at the peril of their life. Professor Tyler seems to combine the two interpretations, as if the orator used an intentional ambiguity: "the result was that they got more (both kicks and coffers) in this way, than from acting in the plays." - do worker και ακήρυκτος: in explanation of περί της ψυχής. The war was without truce, i. e. unceasing; and without herald, i. e. implacable. Cf. Xen. Anab., III. 3. 5. - τραύματ' alludes to the showers of stones, fruit, and other missiles sent by the audience for his wretched acting. This is more fully described by Dem. in de F. L., § 337 : δτε μέν τὰ θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροία κακά ήγωνίζετο, έξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ έξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οθτως ώστε τελευτώντα του τριταγωνιστείν άποστήναι. — 🖦 🗞 λούs: with reference to the reproach of cowardice that Æsch. brings repeatedly against him.

§ 263. άλλα γαρ: cf. § 211 and note. — πρὸς αὐτά...κατηγορήματα, I shall proceed to consider step by step the actual charges against your character. — ποτε, at last; "continuing the taunt that Æsch. was long excluded fr. political life by his low origin and occupations." Ηοιμές. — λαγώ βίον είχης, you led the life of a hare; a proverbial expression for a life of anxious fear and timidity.

§ 264. χλίων...ἀποθανόντων: Lycurg. c. Leocr., § 142, and Diod., XVI. 88, state that a thousand Athenians fell in the battle of Chæronea, and that two thousand were taken prisoners. — τῶν ζώντων contains an implied contrast to ἀποθανόντων. — ἀν δείξαιμι: potent. optat.; cf. note on ἀν έχοι, § 16. — εὐχερῶς, recklessly. — ὅσα....ἐστιν: how diff. fr. ὅσα ἀν ἢ? Cf. G M T. 525; H. 914; C. 651, 641 e.

§ 265. τὰ σοι κάμοι βεβιωμένα, lit. the things lived by you and by me. Cf. § 130.— ἐδίδασκες...πατρίδος: this passage was regarded by the ancient rhetoricians as a model of antithesis. But Demetrius de E'ocut., § 250, finds



fault w. the number of balanced sentences; he thinks the effect of the contrast is weakened by so many antithetic parts, and the entire passage shows more artifice than earnestness. In sharp and severe outline Dem. sums up the career of his rival in its five leading points: (1) as assistant to a pedagogue (§ 258); (2) as helper in the initiations (§§ 259, 260); (3) as clerk (§ 261); (4) as actor (§ 262); (5) as statesman (§ 263). Most Editt. have έχόρεωες, έγω δ' έχορήγουν after έτελούμην; but this sentence is found neither in Σ, L., nor in the oldest rhetoricians.— ἐτέλας... ἐτελούμην: the antithesis becomes clear when we understand ἐτέλωει of the disreputable Sabazian mysteries and ἐτελούμην of the sacred Eleusinian mysteries. Kenn. quotes fr. Milton's Apology for Smeetymnuus the following imitation: "Speaking of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he (Milton) proceeds thus: 'There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them

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§ 286. τὸ δὲ...ἀνωμολόγημα, and it has been admitted that I have done no wrong whatever. τὸ ἀδικεῦ is the accus. retained w. the pass. constr. — συκοφάντη: for the constr. cf. note on τοιούτοις, § 128. — κινδυνεύεις, κ. τ. ἐ., and you are in danger either of being obliged to continue to do this (i. e. act the part of slanderer, since Rsch. to be consistent must play his rôle to the end, must not stop, therefore, with gaining this suit) or of being forthwith silenced, by losing this suit. Thus, the orator means to say, Rsch. must be in either case the loser. — τὸ πέμπτον: cf. note § 103. — ἀγαθῆ γε: notice the ironical force of γε. — οὐχ ὁρᾶε: cf. § 232. — τῆς ἀμῆε: the comm. reading adds ὡς φαύλης, wh., as Voem. justly remarks, weakens the force of the sentence, for no one τόχης κατηγορεῖ ὡς ἀγαθῆς.

fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I minicked; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed."

§ 287. τῶν λειτουργιῶν: such as are enumerated in § 257. — ἀναγνῶ, let me read, although below he says λέγε; but it is well known that what one orders another to do, he may be said to do himself. — μοι = I pray thee; the ethical dat. Cf. note § 178. — λνυμαίνου, used to murder. Cf. § 180. We speak of murdering the king's English. — ἡκω... πάλας: the beginning of the Hecuba of Euripides. Æsch. had personated in this play the shade of Polydorus as tritagonist. — κακαγγελεῖν is an ἀπαξ λεγδμενον. This iambic verse is from an unknown tragedy. — κακὸν κακῶς: an instance of paronomasia; cf. § 11, and the Latin malos male perdere. The close resemblance of this sentence to the trimeter κακὸν κακῶς σέ γ' ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί, wh. occurs in Athen. IV., p. 150 c, was recognized by Meineke.

§ 268. τοιούτος, sc. τν έγώ. — κοινός, sc. είμι, I am public-spirited. A similar omission of the first pers. of this verb occurs in Dem. Lept., § 55,

where esqués is to be supplied.— Exercánny: Dem., acc. to de F. L., § 169 ff., ransomed a number of Athenians who had been taken prisoners in the Olynthian war.— crustisans, joined with any (sc. the poorer of the citizens) in portioning their daughters. Every bride must bring her husband a marriage dower; the poor obtained it by the generous contributions of their richer friends.— obta...obset, join w. de elroque. In this category might be placed contributions to defray burial expenses, and to buy military outfits for the poor.

§ 269. εγδ... τῷ ὁνειδίζειν: the same just sentiment is given by Cic. de Amicit., XX. 71, as follows: "Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quæ memirisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit." — ποιήσωντα, εc. εῦ, wh. is found in most MSS. — τὸν μὰν means τὸν εῦ παθύντα; τὸν δὲ refers to τὸν ποιήσωντα. — μικροῦ... ἐνειδίζειν, is almost like reproaching one. — προαχθήσομα, εc. ποιείν. — δπως ποθ', κ. τ. ೬, but in whatever way I have been regarded as respects these things, I am content.

§§ 270, 271. drullayels, having escaped from; as if from some unpleasant thing. Cf. dπηλλάγης, § 261. — ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ήλιον, i. e. the world of the Greeks. — aboos, unscathed by. — vov, i. e. in the year 331 - 330 B. C. Cf. note § 253. — την έμην... βούλει: a similar turn of expression is found in § 20. — πάντων alτίαν: altlar is not found in Σ, and is, therefore, rejected by V. and W. But this word seems necessary to the sense. Dem. is refuting the notion, so persistently declared by his rival, that his personal fortune was answerable for the misfortunes of the country, and his argument runs thus: you cannot name any one who has not been injured by Philip or Alexander; but among those who have been thus injured there are many who have never seen me nor heard my voice. Can I be the cause of their misfortunes? How much more just, then, is it to say that our misfortunes and theirs are attributable to a common cause (sc. την ἀπάντων ανθρώπων τύχην και φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπήν), than to call my fortune the cause of all, i. e. of all the evil that has come upon the Greeks and Barbarians. Voem. and West. render: I concede that my fortune, whether you please to call it good or ill, has become the fortune of all (men). But how that follows fr. the supposition ε ι μέν γὰρ ἔχεις, κ. τ. έ., I do not see. — φοράν Twa...oix olar Esa, a certain irresistible and deplorable tide of troubles. Some take popar here in the sense of crop or harvest, as in § 61.

§ 272. παρά τουτοισὶ, among these; i. e. my fellow-citizens, as distinguished fr. πολλοί τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ίδύντων, κ. τ. έ., above. — καὶ εἰ μὴ, even if not. — αὐτοκράτωρ, e. g. like Philip. Cf. § 235.

§ 273. δελ...προύτίθει σκοπείν, and at all times the city proffered the opportunity in common (sc. to all) to consider her advantage.— πῶσι...βίλτιον:

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this taunt is not fair. Æsch. and his party were outvoted and had to submit to what they could not prevent; their approbation they did not give.

— ταῦτ': the measures proposed by Dem. — οῦ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοία, κ. τ. ἐ., for it was not out of good-will, certainly, that you relinquished to me, etc.; i. e. you did not give up these in order that I might have them. — ἐλπόων, hopes, prospects of reward. — ἡττώμενος, because you were compelled. — λέγεν βελτίω: cf. εἰπεῦ βέλτιω above. This change of tense and number gives variety. Which of these forms of expression has more reference to the nature and contents of the action? — νῦν ἐγκαλῶν...τότ' οὐκ εἶχες: how and where has the orator made this point before? Cf. §§ 188, 196, 217. It is the characteristic of a good orator to impress an important point by frequent yet ever-varying repetition.

§ 274. Έγωγ, I for my part see; however oblivious of these principles my opponent may be. — πως τα τοιαῦτα, such principles as these somehow defined and laid down. — ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκών: former examples of this hypothetical form of statement are found in §§ 117, 198. — ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν ...συγγνώμην, sc. διωρισμένας ὀρῶ. — σττ ἀδικῶν τις, κ. τ. ἐ.: transl. in this order: τἰς...δοὐς...οὐ κατώρθωσε...οὐτ΄...οὐτ΄. The partice. ἀδικῶν, ἐξαμαρτάνων are placed at the beginning so as to connect this third category more closely w. the two preceding. — σὐ κατώρθωσε, failed in common with all. On the distinction between ἀτυχήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, ἀδικήματα, cf. Aristot. Κιλαί., I. 13. — τῷ τοιοῦτῳ: the addition of the art. makes the reference more specific = such an one as this.

§ 275. τοις νόμοις, from the laws. The distinction between νόμοι and νόμμοι may be stated thus: νόμοι = a positive, definite law or ordinance, generally written; νόμμοι = a principle or rule that is founded upon custom or upon the moral sense of every human being. Cf. Soph. Antig., 451: οι τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποισω ὥρωσω νόμους. οὐδὲ σθένεω τοσοῦτον ψύμην τὰ σὰ κηρύγματα ὡς τὰ ἀγραπτα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμμω. Cf. also Plato Legg., VII., p. 793; Dem. c. Aristocr., § 70. — ἤθεσι: cf. note § 114. — ἀτυχημάτων: misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

§ 276. δπως μή παρακρούσομαι: for the mode cf. G M T. 370; H. 885; Cu. § 533, Obs.; C. 624 b. — δεινόν, skilful as a speaker, hence eloquent. So δεω ότητα below = eloquence. Esch. had named Dem. κακοῦργον σοφιστήν· τὸν γύητα και βαλαντιστόμον και διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν· δεω όδημιουργός λύγων. — ὡς ἐὰν...οῦτως ἔχοντα, as though when, etc.,...then these statements must also be true. For the constr. cf. § 122.

§ 277. την... δεινότητα: another instance of aposiopesis; cf. §§ 3, 22. The thought thus interrupted is resumed w. the words εἰ δ' οὖν... ἐμπειρία τοιαότη. — ἔστω γάρ, nay, be it so. Let it pass that I am an orator; this imputation is, after all, a kind of proof that I am in sympathy w. the

public; ως γάρ...ἀποδέξησθε, κ. τ. έ. — τὸ πλεῖστον, for the most part, generally. Some MSS. insert μέρος. — ὡς γάρ...ἀποδέξησθε, for, according as you may receive and feel kindly towards each. For the subj. w. &r cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; Cu. § 554; C. 641. — εδοξε: why the sor.! Cf. G M T. 533; H. 840; Cu. § 494; C. 606. This sentiment, that the audience controls the speaker, not the speaker the audience, is stated negatively in the de F. L., § 340: "Other powers are tolerably independent, but that of speaking is reduced to nothing when you who hear are opposed." The same important truth has been dwelt upon by all rhetoricians fr. Aristotle to Whately.— παρ' ἐμοι: cf. § 110: παρ' ἐκάστψ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχευν μοι. — οἱδ' ἰδία, not even for my personal interest. — τούναντίον, sc. εὐρήσετε ἐξεταζομένην. — τούτων: to be referred back to the collective τις, as in § 99.

§ 278. elσεληλυθότας, sc. τὰ δικαστήρια. — ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, to require to secure to himself; i. e. by condemning his opponent. — eἰστέναι, nor ought he to come before you, as a prosecutor. — πράικε...ἔχαν, to have them (i. e. these feelings) mildly and moderately disposed. — τὸν πολιτευόμενον...τὸν βήτορα: the former is one that takes an active part in public affairs, the latter more distinctively a speaker and advocate in the public assemblies. For the repetition of the art. (τὸν) cf. note § 212. — ἐν οῖς...τῷ δήμες, et in quibus populo res est cum adversariis. The full expression in Greek would be ἐν τούτοις ὰ πρὸς, κ. τ. ἐ. Cf. πρὸς δυ ῆν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγών, § 235; Isocr. Panegyr., § 12: ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοιούτους...ἐστίν.

§ 279. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος...δίκην: here Dem. briefly reiterates the points more fully treated in §§ 12-16. — ¶κειν: subj. of ἐστὶ σημεῖον. The art. (τὸ) is used w. this infin. below. — συνεσκευασμένον, having concocted. — ούδενὸς: neuter. — ἐμὲ αὐτὸν, more emphatic than ἐμαυτόν, me myself. — ἐπὶ τόνδ', i. e. Ctesiphon. — καὶ πῶσαν ἔχει κακίαν, involves even the sum of all baseness. Most MSS. omit καὶ, and then τῦν...κακίαν forms a pentameter.

§ 280. λόγων...τιμωρίων: for the same topic cf. § 226. — φωνασκίως: Æsch. practice in elocution and his fine voice are derided also in § 308. And in de F. L., § 336, Dem. says: ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκών ἔσται. All this is by way of retort upon Æsch., who in de F. L., § 157, speaks of Dem. voice as ἀξεῖαν καὶ ἀνίσιον. Yet how much pains Dem. took to cultivate his voice and delivery, Quintilian mentions, Oral. Instit., XI., Chap. III., §§ 53, 130. — βουλόμενος: as indicating the motive. — τίμων, the thing to be valued. — τόνος (τείνω), the pitch of the voice. Cf. ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν, § 291. — ἀν ἡ πατρίς, sc. μισῆ καὶ φιλῆ.

§ 281. ἐπ' εὐνοία, based upon good-will. — ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, sc. ἀγκύρας, he is not moored by the same anchor as the multitude. A common metaphor. So ἐπὶ δυοῦν ὀρμεῦν = to have separate interests. — οὕκονν, κ. τ. ἐ.: completes



the thought of the metaphor. — **!faiperov**....**!Tolov**, nothing separate (from the public) nor personal (as opposed to public interests).

§ 282. et lies... Imperior : immediately after the battle of Chæronea an embassy went fr. Athens to Philip, to treat for the release of the prisoners of war. At the head of this embassy was Demades (cf. § 285). His associates were Esch. and Phocion. Cf. Grote, Chap. XC.; Plut. Phoc., 16.—85 refers to Philip.—πάντα χρόνον: taken literally, this is an exaggeration, since Esch. went on two embassies concerning the peace of Philocrates; he is to be understood, therefore (and doubtless he was so understood by his audience), as meaning all the former time since 346 B. C.—
ταύτην την χρείαν, although he refused this service (i. e. of going on an embassy to Philip).— καταράται: at the opening of each Assembly it was customary for the crier or herald to imprecate curses on the enemies of the state, and more particularly on those who plotted to overthrow the democracy and were bribed to betray their country into the hands of foreign foes. Cf. Schöm. de Comit. Athen., p. 92. Cf. § 130.— ούτος = τοιοῦτος, wh. is the reading of many MSS.

\$ 283. οδ μεμνήσθαι: why not μή? Cf. H. 1024; Cu. § 617, Obs. 1, 2; C. 686 c. — ἐν τῷ πολέμφ: in contrast with μετὰ τὴν μάχην, § 282. — τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην, this charge, sc. of holding friendly relations with Philip.

§ 284. προσεποιού... ἐνόματα: cf. §§ 51, 52. "The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same point, are a distinguishing feature of Demosth., and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox's great eloquence." Lord. B. — τυμπανιστρίας: the ceremonies described in § 259 were accompanied with the beating of drums and cymbals. — ξένος...φίλος... γνώριμος: the thought is presented in the form of a climax, as each of these terms expresses less than the one next preceding: guest-friend, friend, acquaintance. — εἰλημμένος... γεγονὸς, although you yourself have been thus openly apprehended as a traitor, and although you have become, etc. — ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβῶσι: cf. note § 197. — μᾶλλον, sc. ἢ ἐμέ, as is easily understood fr. the connection. Many MSS. add these words; an addition that, coming after so many long syllables, would mar the rhythm of the sentence.

§ 285. Πολλά... ἡμνημόνησεν: the connection between this sentence and what immediately precedes is so loose, as to lead Dobræus to strike out this and to connect σημεῖον δέ directly w. the last sentence of § 284, making the sense: σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἐμὲ τῶν κακῶν αίτιον εἶναι. But the connection as it stands, though not very close, seems clear enough: "I was not the author of the evil he charges upon me, but of much good; and here is the proof that the people so regarded me." — χειροτονῶν... ἐροῦντ΄: the custom of pronouncing eulogies upon those who fell in battle was a later addition to the public funeral rites with wh. they were honored (cf. Thuc., 11. 35),

dating probably fr. the close of the Persian wars. Cf. Diod., XI. 33. Specimens of such funeral orations are the famous one of Pericles, given by Thuc., 11. 35 - 46; that found in Plato's Menezenus; the ἐπιτάφιος τοῖς Κομινθίων βοηθοίs, attributed to Lysias; and an έπιτάφιος, attributed to Dem. The choice of an orator was made by the people, the Senate having only the right to nominate (προβληθέντα). — Δημάδην: an orator of consummate ability, regarded by some as a match for Dem. himself (cf. Quint., Instit. Orat., II. Chap. 17, §§ 12, 13; Plut. Dem., 8, 10). He was also a man without principle and a notorious partisan of Philip, described by Plut. Phoc., I., as raváγιον της πόλεως. As prisoner of war at the battle of Chæronea he secured the favor of Philip, and became the agent of the peace (doτι πεποιηκότα την είρηνην) that bears his name. Cf. Diod., XVI. 87. -'Hyhuova: a member of the Macedonian party and a self-educated orator. Æsch. c. Cles., § 25, mentions him as the author of a law w. reference to the Theoric fund enacted soon after the battle of Chærones. Hegemon and Pythocles were put to death together w. Phocion, five years after the death of Alexander the Great. — Πυθοκλίους: at first a friend of Dem., he became later the hireling of Philip. Cf. de F. L., §§ 225, 314. — Er' duavov, etiam luculentius et studiosius Diss.

§ 286. atrol, i. e. & dipos (§ 285). — a...raûr': a common inversion of the order of relat. and antec. clause. — involveyfrate, this you acknowledged in the misfortunes of the state; referring to their sympathy and friendship w. Philip, as at the beginning of § 284. — où, accordingly; as the natural inference fr. such conduct. — in the public disasters security for the free utterance of their sentiments (lit. freedom from fear on account of what they thought, or, as some think, on account of what they purposed) had been their enemies long ago, but at that moment had become such manifestly.

§ 287. εἶτα καὶ προσήκαν, in the next place to be fitting also. — ἐπολαμ-βάνοντες...τοῦτο δ' ἐδρων: an anacoluthon, δέ being used as if a verb st. partic. preceded. So in Xen. Anab., VI. 6. 16: χαλεπών, εἰ οἰόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεὐξεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδ' δμοιοι τοῖς άλλοις ἐσόμεθα. Inferior MSS. change into ὑπελάμβανον. — ὁμωρόψον ... ὁμοσπονδον: deriv.? Should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with. Kenn. Pabst renders by Haus- und Tischgenosse. — ἐκεῖ: at the court of Philip. — κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν: Dem. de F. L., § 128, says: οδτος (sc. Λίσχίνης) εἰς τάπωἰκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθυον, εἰστιᾶτο ἐλθών καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἄς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρα καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσων εθχετο ἐκεῦνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλίππω καὶ φιλοτησίας προύπωνεν. Theopompus, as cited by Athenæus, X. 435, states that after



the battle of Chæronea Philip invited the Athenian envoys to dine with him. Cf. note § 282. — $\tau_{\hat{1}}$ † ϕ $\nu_{\hat{1}}$ * Sampéan*: the idea is that he assumed a pathetic tone. — **Tokonvontrous, acting a part. Cf. § 15. The plur. is used so as to include in the allusion Demades, Hegemon, and Pythocles, besides **Asch. *\(\delta_{\overline{\text{i}}}\)\(\delta_{\overline{\text{

NOTES.

§ 288. ci...alpeblures: an attributive clause, hence the repetition of the article. — ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς: an abridged expression = ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ταφῶν παρακευήν; so § 312, εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν = εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀνάληψω. The relatives of the deceased formed a sort of committee of arrangement for the funeral ceremonies, the closing act of wh. was the περίδειπνον or νεκρύδειπνον. Cf. Dict. Antiq. sub Funus. — ἀλλως πως: supply a verb like ἐποίησαν, as w. οδτως above. — ὡς παρ' οἰκειστάτψ: cf. § 246. — ἄσπερ τὰλλ' ἐωθε, i. e. to make the funeral feast at the house of the nearest relative. Cf. Lucian de Luctu., C. 24. — κοινῆ: as opposed to γένει. The sense is this: the statesman who labors for the welfare of all the citizens stands more nearly related to all than any other individual citizen; each individual mourns over his own kin, but his grief is for all alike. — ῷ...διίφον : διαφέρεω is used here like the Latin interesse w. the dative. — ὰ...διίφον: διαφέρεω is used here like the Latin interesse w. the dative. — ὰ...διίφον : διαφέρεω is used here like the Latin interesse w. the dative. — ὰ...διίς το β. Σίς Cf. G M T. 734; H. 871a; Cu. § 515; C. 638 g.

§ 289. EIIIPAMMA: the monument erected over the ashes of those who fell at Chæronea is mentioned by Pausanias, I. 29. 13, as situated in the outer Cerameicus, on the road to the Academy. Such monuments bore inscriptions (ἐπιγράμματα) wh. contained, besides the names of those buried, some poetic commemoration of their bravery and patriotism. The inscription before us is of unknown origin, is not found in 2 and several other MSS.. contains many irregularities of diction, and is altogether so unsatisfactory. that almost all critics believe it to be of later composition. - els Show **εθέντο δπλα**, put their arms into the conflict; an unusual expression; θέσθαι δπλα = generally to stack arms, to lay down arms. — άπεσκέδασαν: a poetical exaggeration as regards the result of the battle. So Lycurg. c. Leocr., § 49, says : εί δὲ δεῖ παράδοξον μὲν εἰπεῖν, άληθὲς δέ, νικῶντες ἀπέθανον. μαρνάμενοι δ' άρετης και δείματος: so read the MSS. Voemel, in an Excursus, gives at least 15 different interpretations of this distich, of wh. the more important may be stated under these four heads: (1) Many recent Editt. accept Valckenaar's conjecture of λήματος for δείματος, and join both genitives w. mapr. as genit. cause or price : contending with bravery and courage; or, retaining δείματος, understand it w. the Schol. as = φύβου οδ $\epsilon l\chi o\nu$ viet $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ matridos; or change the reading to dret $\hat{\eta}$ dix $\hat{\eta}$ deluates = virtule intrepida; or read destâs κατά δείματος = virtule contra communem terrorem. (2) Join άρετης και λήματος W. έσάωσαν = they did not preserve

their lives as the price of bravery and courage; or read did delyharos = they did not, etc., through a display of bravery. (3) Take doern's και λήματος as an exclamation = O valor and courage! or change to dρετης & δείγματος = O display of valor! (4) Join dρετής και δείματος w. βραβή, the negat. clause οὐκ...ψυχάς being parenthetic and requiring the dλλά following. The regular order would be : μαρν. δ' (οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς, άλλ') ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος...βραβη. A similar transposition in the order (called Hyperbaton) is found in Xen. Hell., VII. 3. 7: ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Αρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην (οὐ ψῆφον ανεμείνατε, άλλα) όπότε πρώτον έδυνασθητε έτιμωρήσασθε. Acc. to this view the sense is: these by their death proved what they were, whether brave men or cowards; brave men, of course, for they all chose Hades as their common arbiter. V. cites Lycurg. c. Leocr., § 49, in support of this interpretation. — σῦνεκεν Έλλήνων must be taken closely w. the idea of ἀπέθαror that is contained in οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς. — ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες: this is properly said of victors who impose the voke upon the vanquished. renders it by se subjicientes. The idea would be more properly expressed by υπό ζυγών αυχένα θέντες. — σώματα = the bones, for the bodies were - μηδέν άμαρτείν... έπορεν: this distich has been variously understood. The two main interpretations are given: (1) The transl. acc. to the punctuation here adopted, wh. is that of Bekk., is: to fuil in nothing is of the gods, and to succeed in all things in life; but from destiny no escape is allotted. The sense of the entire passage then is this: these sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their country; in that they lost their lives they met their μοῖρα, fr. wh. there is no escape anyway; in that they failed of success they were not at fault, for success (πάντα κατορθούν, wh. is the positive side of μηδέν άμαρτείν) is the gift of the gods. Θεών is possess. genit., it belongs to the gods, hence is theirs to bestow. So Æschyl. Septem., 625 : θεοῦ δὲ δῶρὸν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς. Notice how well this interpretation harmonizes w. the sentiment : τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, κ. τ. έ., §§ 192, 193. It also agrees, as we shall see, w. the application Dem. makes in § 290. (2) But Z., W., Dind., not to mention many more, punctuate after κατορθοῦν, join ἐν βιοτῆ w. what follows, and read thus : to fail in nothing and to succeed in all things is the prerogative of the gods; but in mortal life (i. e. to mortals) it is decreed in no wise to escape destiny. Here the condition of the gods and of men is contrasted, and we should expect some such application as this: it must, therefore, occasion no surprise, if we mortals fail in our undertakings. But how different is the application wh. the orator makes below in où $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ $\sigma \nu \mu \beta o \nu \lambda \varphi$, κ . τ . $\dot{\epsilon}$., we shall presently see. To the many metrical translations already published of this epitaph, all of which follow in the last distich the second interpretation just given, I venture to add the following : —



NOTES.

These for their country rushed into the fray,
And bravely kept the boastful foe at bay;
Spared not their lives, but prizing honor's name,
Chose Hades judge of glory or of shame;
For Hellas' sake, that far removed might be
Forevermore the curse of slavery.
And now guards well their sleep the fatherland,
Since this decree from Zeus shall ever stand:
'T is of the gods when all life's plans succeed,
But no escape from fate to mortuls is decreed.

§ 290. is to upsty, k. t. i., you hear, also in this very thing (epitaph), that the statement...attributes not to the statesman but to the gods the power of making those who contend successful. How the second interpretation of the last distich, the gods alone are successful, can be made to harmonize w. this application, it is difficult to see. — π in a katopsoup: most Editt. place a colon after the words, and thus make a harsh asyndeton in où τ $\hat{\varphi}$ $\sigma v \mu \beta o \hat{\psi} \phi$, k. τ . i. — $\tau p \hat{\psi} \psi a \omega r$: a true optative. Cf. G M T. 721. I.; H. 870; Cu. § 514; C. 638.

V. §§ 291-323. CONCLUSION. (a) §§ 291-293. THE FEELINGS EXHIBITED BY ESCHINES ON ACCOUNT OF THE CALAMITIES OF HIS COUNTRY. So dv, sc. έχοι: a similar ellipsis occurs w. δπερ δ' dv, § 197; ωσπερ dv τρυτάνη, § 298. — λαρυγγίζων, lit. straining his larynx, i. e. vociferating. — τοῦς...ἀνιαροῦς, in the distressful events that occurred. Cf. δυσμεναίνων τοῦς κοινοῦς ἀγαθοῦς, § 217.

§ 292. της πολιτείας, the constitution. — σύτος, sc. φάσκει. Æsch. professed in his speech great solicitude for the preservation of the ancient laws. — και εί: cf. note § 272. — τετάχθαι, to range himself. — πράγματα, troubles. Dem. purposely uses a mild term; but Æsch., § 57, more strongly says: τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθέτην αίτιον γεγενημένον. — ἀπὸ: denotes the point of departure; not before but only from the adoption of my policy.

§ 293. πραττομένη: Schaef. remarks that the departure fr. the regular order, τη πρ. ἀρχη, throws the emphasis upon ἀρχη. Similar are τὰs... βλασφημίας εἰρημένας, § 126; τὴν...ρώμην...ὑπάρχουσαν, § 98. On the contrary, the regular attributive position of the partic. is found in τῶν εἰργασμένων.. κακῶν, § 142, where the emphasis falls on εἰργασμένων. — τοῖς ἄλλοις means the rest of the statesmen who may have received public rewards. — εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι: cf. note § 171. — ἕβλαπτε: thìs he did by asserting that any single individual could make any such arrogant claim.

(b) §§ 294-296. ÆSCHINES IS CONSPICUOUS AMONG TRAITORS. 4...

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Euripa, But why do I rebuke him for this, when, etc. — φιλιππισμόν: Lord B. compares "Jacobinism." Cf. § 176. The orator has probably in mind the passage fr. Æsch. cited on p. 100. — ἐπ' ἀληθείας: cf. note § 17. — ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, taking out of the midst, i. e. leaving out of view. The partic. is purposely left indefinite, agreeing w. the implied subject of σκοπείσθαι. Below he becomes more specific by the use of εθροιτ'. — ἀς ἀληθώς, really. Cf. ὡς ἐτέρως, § 85. This ὡς is the same as that used w. expressions of comparison and the superlative, but is usually not translated before adverbs.

§ 295. Too's trapyortas molitas, cives sua factionis. Schaef. Cf. note § 174. The historian Polybius, Vol. XVII. 14, criticises the unfairness of Dem. for including in the category of traitors all those public men who did not sympathize w. his policy of resistance to Philip; and he defends the persons here named on the ground that they availed themselves of the aid of Philip only for the benefit of their respective countries, not for their own aggrandizement. Most of these names are mentioned by Harpocration and Athenæus, who quote fr. the lost history of Theopompus, and in Plutarch's Lives of Dem., Alex., Phocion and Timoleon. Cicero has imitated this passage in his oration against Verres.

§ 296. μιαροί, κ. τ. &: Kenn. renders these epithets by profligates, parasites, miscreants. — ἡκρωτηριασμένοι...προπεπωκότες...μετρούντες: Longinus praises the cumulative force of these metaphors. ἡκρ. = having crippled. Lord B. translates προπ., having toasted away. προπίνεω = to drink to something; e. g. Φιλίππω φιλοτησίας προσπωέν, de F. L., § 128. But fr. the custom of bestowing the drinking-cup as a gift upon the person whose health was pledged (cf. de F. L., § 139; Xen. Cyr., VIII. 3. 35), this word came to signify to give up recklessly. So in Olynth., III., § 22: προπέποται τῆς παραντίκα χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα. — τὸ μηδένα...αὐτῶν = independence. — ἡσαν: the plural by the attraction of the predicate nouns. — ἀνατετραφότες: a later form, the correctness of wh. is disputed by some who prefer ἀνατετροφότες.

(c) §§ 297-305. RECAPITULATION OF HIS OWN MERITS AND SERVICES, AS CONTRASTED WITH THE CONDUCT OF THESE TRAITORS. συστάστως ...κακίας...προδοσίας depend on draitios.— εί δεὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, if one ought not to trifle; i. e. if one ought in all earnestness to call things by their right names.— διαφθαρέντων: gen. absol.— ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, lit. beginning from you, i. e. with you at the head.

§ 238. εμε: the emphatic position at the head of the sentence should not escape notice. — φιλανθρωπία λόγων, blanda verba. Diss. — όμοιως ύμιν: Dem. compares his opponents to the tongue of a balance, wh. readily turns to the side of the scale in wh. personal interests are laid as outweighing the interests of the state. — ώπως ἀν: cf. ώς ἀν, § 291. Dem. employs the

same figure in his Orat. de Pace, § 12. — καλ...τῶν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς, and standing at the head of the very weightiest interests of the men of my time, or, of weightier interests than any of my contemporaries. τῶν ἀνθρώπων is partit. genit. w. the attributive superlative, though the genit belongs in idea to the subj. of the verb πεπολίτευμαι. Similar are ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα, § 65; ὧν...κράτωτα, § 320. — διὰ ταῦτ': this claim is as just as it is eloquent. The honesty of Dem. stands unquestioned, in spite of the aspersions of his enemies.

§ 299. 8v...Sulgrupes: for the language of Æsch. see the citation on pp. 125, 126, — μου : for this genit. cf. note § 28, — πόρρω μέντοι, κ. τ. έ., but, of course, I place these far below my political measures. — or historia K. T. L: to bring out the rhetorical emphasis, follow the Greek order in translating. - où b' en rourous... opove, nor of my transactions do I pride myself most upon these. — wódas... tówovs... dipévas: in §§ 230, 237, Dem. enumerates these allied states, friendly territories and harbors. - wokkows is bracketed by some Editt. as an interpolation, and placed by others just before rows water. With V. we may take it as belonging to both Inwovs and τούς... άμυνομένους (= ξένους), since, in § 237, Dem. speaks of a large accession gained by himself of both cavalry and mercenary troops. - Toure, the Athenians. - Toùs... apuvopérous: taken substantively. With the sentiment of this passage may be compared the apothegm of Lycurgus found in Plut. Lycurg., 1. 9: οὐκ ἀν είη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ήτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάwat. Wh. cites in illustration the well-known ode of Sir W. Jones, commencing: "What constitutes a state?"

§ 300. wpd, in front of, as a defence. — Πειραιώς...τοῦ ἄστεως: these were enclosed by ramparts and fortifications of stone and wood, as contrasted w. τὴν χώραν, wh. was not protected in this way. ἄστεως is the rarer Attic for ἄστεος. — τοῖς λογισμοῖς, in tactics; dat. of respect. Notice the emphasis of εγώ as contrasted w. Φιλίππου. — τῷ τύχη: and yet, acc. to Diod., XVI. 88, the Athenians, after the battle of Chæronea, condemned Lysicles, their own general, to death, on the accusation of Lycurgus.

§ 301. οὐκ...προβαλίσθαι: the orator, having spoken of the general aim of his measures, now proceeds to particulars. The topics here presented have been treated before in §§ 230, 240, 241. — ἐκ θαλάττης: cf. note § 230. — τοὺς ὁμόρους, sc. Megara, Corinth, Achaia. — τὴν σιτοπομπίαν: cf. note § 87. For a similar anticipation in the construction cf. Dem. c. Conon, § 17: τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίγνωνται προείδοντο. — παρὰ πῶσαν ψιλίαν, sc. χώραν, along a territory throughout friendly.

§ 302. τὰ μὰν...τὰ δ', some...others. — ὑπαρχόντων, and to preserve some of those belonging to our side; cf. note on ὑπάρχοντας, § 295. — τοιαῦτα, such things, i. e. as would preserve these allies. — Προκόννησον: this island

was in alliance w. Athens in 362, when it applied to the Athenians for aid against Cyzicus. — Χερρόνησον: cf. § 80. — Τένεδον: this island was important as commanding the entrance to the Hellespont. — τὰ δ': obj. of πράξαι and subj. of ὑπάρξει; in apposition w. it are the names following. — Βυζάντιον: cf. § 87. — "Αβυδον: Abydos was, acc. to Dem. c. Aristocr., § 158, in constant enmity w. Athens. — Εύβοιαν: the genuineness of this word has been suspected, because Eubera has just before been mentioned as a part of the Attic fortifications. Here, however, Dem. is speaking of alliance. Cf. § 79; A. Schaef., 1I. 396 ff., 457 ff. — ὧν δ' ἐνθλειπε = ἀ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε. Diss. The verb is impersonal.

§ 303. Kal...Kal, both...and. "The kal emphasizes the connection of plan and execution, for both of which the orator claims equal approval." Holmes. — rapelivra: Dem. disclaims any crime of negligence, of ignorance, of treachery. — thumalvero... artipelar: the injury is represented as repeated or continued, the final act of destruction as momentary. The plural in artipelar represents the various agencies named as operating individually, as well as collectively...

§ 304. μόνον, only. — Θετταλία... Αρκαδία: for the attitude of these states towards Athens cf. notes §§ 63, 64. — ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, would have experienced. Σ and L. read ἐκέχρηντ' ἀν, wh. V. and W. follow, changing οὐδείε to οὐδένει to correspond.

§ 305. As overes: the degives a contingent force to the whole sentence, but is to be joined directly w. \$\tilde{\pi}\tilde\tilde{\pi}\tilde{\pi}\tilde{\pi}\tilde{\pi}\tilde{\pi}\tilde{\pi

Είπερ ίσην ρώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, είχες, Οὔποτ' ἀν Ἑλλήνων ἢρξεν "Αρης Μακεδών.

— πολλς... ελάττοσι χρώμαι, that I make use of statements falling far short of the facts. — λέγε...καὶ ἀνάγνωθι: a similar coupling of these words is found in § 28, where see note. — ταντὶ: the reference is uncertain, owing to the confused condition of the text. The Editt. of Z. reject the addition τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα, wh. is found in most of the MSS., and understand ταντὶ to refer to certain ψηφίσματα. Σ has for the title of the omitted document or documents: ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΜΑ ΨΗΦΙΟΜΑΤΑ; but all the other MSS. (quod sciam) have ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ. From the connection we infer that Decalls for the reading of such documents as would show how much Atherhad done to assist other states in their efforts to retain their freedom again— he machinations of Philip.

(d) §§ 306-313. Dem. Places the cowardly and unpatriotic Conduct of Esch. in Contrast with his own. Set: some critics conjecture έδει in exact response to the question put in § 301: Τί χρῆν... ποιεῖν. — ἀν κατορθουμένων, κ. τ. ἐ., in the event of the success of which, we should beyond a doubt have been pre-eminently great, and justly so, too. For the genit. absol. used in place of condit. clause cf. note § 30. — μεγίστοις agrees w. the implied indirect obj. (ἡμῶν) of ὑπῆρχεν. With ὑπῆρχεν and προσῆν many MSS. have ἀν, wh., however, is not essential in such expressions; cf. note on ἐξήρκει, § 196. With τὸ δικαίων supply μεγίστουν εἶναι as subj. of προσῆν. — ὡς ἐτίρως: a euphemism for adversely. Cf. §§ 85, 212. — συμβάντων: genit. absol., denoting concession. — περίστι: whatever we may have lost, there is saved and left over to us from our loss reputation and honor.

§ 307. οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ: thus should the patriotic citizen act, and not, by Zeus, no, not, etc. — τὸν... ὑποστάντα is obj. of βασκαίνευ, and has depending on it λέγευ, γράφευ, μένευ. ὑποστῆναι = to put one's shoulders under the burden in contrast w. ἀποστῆναι above. — μέναν ἐπὶ τούτων, lit. to remain (resting) upon these; i. e. to abide by these. Cf. note § 17. — ὕπουλον, insidious. What is the metaphor? — οὐδί γ', and certainly not. The emphasis of γέ falls upon ἡσυχίαν as that of wh. he is to speak further. — δ, a thing which.

§ 308. ἀπλῶς, openly, honestly; as opposed to υπουλον above. — μεστοι του...λέγοντος, saled of the man who speaks incessantly. It seems that this was possible even in an Athenian Assembly! Dem. refers here to himself, as in those times he must have been unusually active in the debates. — δύσκολον, harassing; euphemistic, like ἐτέρως, § 306. — πολλά δὶ τάνθρώπνα, and many are the casualties of human life. Kenn. — ἄσπερ πνεῦμ, suddenly, like a gale after a calm, he comes out from his silence as a speaker. Tyler's edition remarks justly that ἡσυχίας must be taken in close connection w. πνεῦμα, the ἐκ being transitional, as in τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος, Soph. O. T., 454. ἐφάτη is the gnomic aor., the tense expressing the suddenness of the appearance. — πεφωνασκηκώς, with well-trained voice. — συνείρε, he strings these together clearly and without taking breath. Cf. notes § 280. — τῷ τυχόντι: to some one or other of his fellow-citizens.

§ 309. ἐμπορίου κατασκενήν, arrangements for commerce; by obtaining foreign markets and entrepôts for Athens. — ἀποδειχθείσιν, undisquised.

§ 310. τούτων...lffraσις: the sense is, all this served as the test for patriotic conduct. — τοις άνω χρόνοις means the earlier times of the Republic, in contrast w. ὁ παρελθών χρώνος, the period just past. — ἀποδείξεις, opportunities to prove one's self. — ἐν οἰς, i. e. ἐν ἀνδράσι καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς, from the collective sense of ἀνδρὶ before. — φανήσει γεγονώς, you will manifestly

have been. By the use of the future the speaker places himself in advance of his own time, and expresses the verdict that posterity will pronounce upon the character of Æsch. — browneroviv, lit. the any-eth whatever. The part. oir corresponds to the Latin -cunque. — krí y ols, k. r. &, certainly not then connected with what advanced the interests of our country.

§ 311. olrewer: all the departments of public service are named here: domestic, Grecian, foreign. — ἐπηνάρθωται, has been improved. The addition of διά σέ in the Z. edition is wanting in the best MSS., weakens the sentence, and is superfluous in connection w. ἐπέστης and σοῦ πράξαντος. — ποῖαι has a sarcastic force: what sort of? As predicate in all these questions we readily supply γεγόνασι σοῦ πράξαντος fr. the first sentence. A similar passage is found in Dinarch. c. Dem., § 96. On its rhetorical power Dissen remarks: "Est autem magna et insignis vis in hac singularum rerum enumeratione et toties repetita interrogatione." — τίς...βοήθαα χρημάτων, what financial help of a political and public nature have you ever given either to the wealthy or to the poor? "The poor were benefited by the alterations wh. Dem. effected in the regulations for the trierarchy; the rich by improvements in the administration of the revenues." Wh.

§ 312. δ τῶν = ω λφστε; τῶν is probably an old dialectic vocative of $\tau \dot{\nu}$ or $\tau \dot{\nu} \nu \eta = \sigma \dot{\nu}$ with ν , the old ending, originally μ of the first person, added. Cf. eywr. Dem. puts the following rejoinder in the mouth of his opponent: well, but if I performed nothing of all this, yet I manifested the right spirit, did I not? - 'Actorovekos: the same one mentioned in § 83. — els the émitiplar = els the $\tau \hat{\eta} r$ the émitiplas deduntin. Cf. note § 288. It appears that Aristonicus had fallen through insolvency into dripla, that to enable him to regain his lost rights of citizenship his friends made a collection for him, but that he expended for the benefit of the state the money thus contributed. — τῶν Φίλωνος...χρημάτων, the property of Philo, your brother-in-law. — πλειόνων, sc. έντων: some MSS. and many Editt. read πέντε ταλάντων; then χρημάτων is taken as a partit. genit. (more than five talents of the property, etc.), and it is to be inferred that Philo left an estate of extraordinary value. — Epavov Suprav, a present made by a joint contribution. — των ήγεμόνων: cf. § 103. — εφ' ols ελυμήνω, for the damage you did to the law of the Trierarchy. Just in what way and when Æsch., as advocate of the wealthiest class, crippled this law. we have no data fr. wh. to determine.

§ 313. Advov in Advov, by speaking of one thing after another.—increase, lit. beat or drive myself out of the present (apportunity). This he says with respect to the shortness of the time still left him for the remainder of his speech.—rotrous ols: masc., meaning the Macedonians.—veavlas, vigorous. "Youth as the type of (1) vigor or (2) violence appears in the user veavlas and all its derivations, as the Lexica abundantly testify." Type



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— λαμπρός, brilliant. When did you condescend to shine? The epithet may, however, be more directly applied to his voice, as below in λαμπροφωνίτατος. — ἡνίκ' ἄν...δέη, sc. πράττεω: many MSS. read εἰπεῖν either after ἀν or after τούτων. — Θεοκρίνης, acc. to Harpocr., was a συκοφάντης. Diss. explains the allusion thus: like this notorious informer and slanderer, Æsch. pretends to commiserate the fate of those who fell victims to his own intrigues; as e. g. when he deplores the fate of Thebes and of Phocis.

(e) §§ 314-320. Dem. COMPARES HIMSELF AND ÆSCH. WITH THE PUBLIC MEN OF THE PRESENT AND OF FORMER TIMES. μέμνησα: in addition to the citations fr. Æsch. given below, see also those given in connection w. § 208. — την...εθνοιαν ύπάρχουσαν: for the position of the partic. cf. note § 293. — προλαβόντα, taking advantage of, turning to his own account.

§ 315. υπεστί, there is a certain lurking (ύπό). — τοὺς τεθνεώτας: the sentiment "Nil mortuis nisi bonum" finds abundant illustration in all literature. So Thuc., II. 45: τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὅντα ἄπας εἰωθεν ἐπαυεῦν. φθύνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστω εὐνοία τετίμηται. — κρίνωμαι: what use of the mood? Cf. G M T. 287; H. 866, 3; Cu. § 511; C. 647.

§ 316. οὐ μὲν...ἡλίκας, nay, then, one might not say just how great; sc. these good services of former times were. — τὰς ἐπλ...ἀγαν, to subject those that are conferred upon the present generation to thanklessness and contempt. ἀγεω implies that he would thus bring these good deeds out of their true, into a false light. For the prep. ἐπὶ Schaef. conjectures περὶ, but others defend the use of ἐπὶ in the sense of intended for, coming to. (Cf. Funkhaenel in Fleckeisen Ann. Phil., 1858, p. 320.) — τούτων is understood by some to refer to the Athenians (= παρὰ τούτων, as it is written in all but two MSS.); by others as neuter referring to the collective τι, and objective genitive, thus: the honorable recognition and kindly feeling manifested for this.

§ 317. άρα: slightly ironical, as if what he is about to say was already clearly enough understood. — ταὐτά βουλομένη, aiming at the same objects. — ταῖς, sc. πολιτεία καὶ προαιρέσει. — κατ' ἐκείνους: cf. § 17. Some MSS. add τοὺς χρόνους. — οἱ διασύροντες...δὶ...ἐπήνουν: for this irregularity of construction cf. note on ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων, § 287. This anacoluthon doubtless caused the reading οἱ διέσυρον μὲν found in many MSS. and adopted by Dind., Bekk., and others. The antithesis in the idea is brought out more forcibly by the inversion of the order of subj. and obj.

§ 318. d8eApds: Æsch. had two brothers, Philochares, who was distinguished for military service (Æsch. de F. L., § 149), and Aphobetus (Dem.

de F. L., § 237), who was a somewhat prominent politician. Diss. thinks the orator refers here to the former, but W. thinks to the latter. — ίνα... είνα... i. e. than χρηστέ. In the same vein of sarcasm he calls the entire Macedonian party in § 89 ol χρηστοί. — τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, those of his own age. The reflexive refers back to the object τὸν ζῶντα.

§ 319. δ Φιλάμμων...ἀνηγορεύετο: see Introduction, p. xv, for the singular anticipation of this point by Æsch. in the extract given below. Philammon, acc. to Harpocration, was a famous Athenian boxer and athlete, who was evidently well known to the orator's audience. — Γλαόκου: Glaucus flourished about 670 B. C., and is said to have gained the prize for boxing twice in the Pythian, eight times in the Nemean, and as often in the Isthmian games. Cf. Pausan., VI. 10. 3. — ἀσθενέστερος ἡν...ἀπήει... ἄριστα ἐμάχετο...ἐστεφανούτο: the thought by being presented in this two-fold way, first negatively and then positively, is made very clear and emphatic. — σύδένα, I shrink from no one; i. e. from a comparison with no one. So κίνδυνον ἐκστῆναι = to shrink from danger. Cf. Dem. Lept., § 10. But ἐξίσταμαι οὐδενί, wh. is the reading of many editt., = I yield to no one. Cf. Soph. Philoct., 1042: νῦν δὲ σοί γ' ἐκὰν ἐκστήσομαι. — ὧν: partit. genitive. Cf. note § 298.

§ 320. ἐφαμίλλου: deriv.? When loyalty to the fatherland lay open for competition in common to all. — κράτιστα = άριστα here; some MSS. read βέλτιστα. — καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...καὶ and...not only, but also...and. — τούτοις, i. e. the Athenians. — ἀ....ἀφελε: cf. note § 288. — ἔτερον, another, i. e. a forcigner, meaning Philip. So in § 323 ἐτέρων refers to the Macedonians, and ἔτερος to Alexander. — ἔξέτασις, sc. ἢν: here ἐξέτασις does not mean trial, test, as in § 310, but rather an inquiry for, demand for; as if the Macedonian party at Athens were mustering into their ranks the best men they could find for leaders. — ἐν τάξει...μέγας, all of you were in rank grand people, with splendid equipages. Kenn. "In a rocky country with a poor soil like Attica, horse-keeping was a sign of wealth. In fact it was so expensive in Athens, that in the time of Aristophanes it was a ready road to ruin for moderate incomes." Wh. Hence W. thinks that in the use of ἐπποτρόφος there lies an allusion to Æsch. expensive style of living at that time

(f) §§ 321-323. THE CONDUCT OF EACH ORATOR AS A PATRIOTIC CITIZEN FINALLY CONTRASTED. τὸν φύσει μέτριον: Lord B. renders by the citizen of ordinary worth. μέτριον seems to be used here, as in § 10, to avoid giving offence, and = respectable fair. φύσει seems to be used in the sense of naturally, i. e. what is in the capacity of human nature, as opposed to the superhuman and the supernatural. So also Professor Tyler interprets it. The phrase then means the reasonably good citizen, φύσει limiting



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μέτριον. "This seems to accord better with the signification of the words and the demands of the context, than the well-disposed citizen, wh. is the reading of Kenn. and Wh., but which is too nearly identical w. εδνοια, one of the things that the citizen must possess." Tyler. — ἀνεπιφθονότατον, least invidious. — ἐν...ταις ἔξουσίαις, when in authority. So Aristo. Ethic., II. 3. 3: οἱ ἐν ταις ἔξουσίαις = those who are in supreme authority. — τὴν... προαίρετιν διαφυλάττειν, to maintain for the state her pursuit of what is magnanimous and what promotes her precedence. — τὴν εύνοιαν, the spirit of loyalty, sc. διαφυλάττειν. — τούτου = τοῦ εύνοιαν. A man has it in his own control whether he will be patriotic or not; but whether he can increase the power of his country, this often lies beyond his control. — ταύτην = τὴν εδνοιαν.

§ 322. Ecutoúmeros: cf. note on έξητούμην, § 41. — 'Αμφικτυονικάς δίkas: the insertion of ϵls in Σ before these words gives the unusual constr. of έπάγειν τινα els δίκην. The precise nature of these Amphiciyonic suits is not clear. From the statement of Pausanias, VII. 10. 10, it appears that to the Amphictyonic council was given jurisdiction over any cases of active opposition against Philip, in violation of the articles of agreement made at the Congress of Corinth. A. Schaef., III. 198, understands Dem. to refer to attempts that were made to bring him to trial before this council on a charge of active co-operation in the Spartan revolt, 330 B. C. Dissen thinks Dem. refers to the time when Philip was Amphictyonic general and he (Den.) was charged with being his open antagonist. Jacobs understands the allusion to be to the same time that Alexander demanded the surrender of-Dem. just referred to by έξαιτούμενος. — ούκ ἐπαγγελλομίνων, not when they made overtures; alluding to attempts to gain him over by bribes. Most texts have οὐκ ἀπειλούντων before οὐκ ἐπ., but this, besides being omitted fr. Σ, violates the exact correspondence of these clauses. — προσβαλλόντων. not when they set these accursed wretches like wild beasts upon me. - Sobiv ... Sinular are in the predicate position and must be rendered accordingly. θεραπεύειν is in explanation of όδον, and accus. in apposition with it.

§ 323. ούκ ἐπὶ μὰν...τῶν δὰ: the force of the negative extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. οὐ...μὲν δύναται...ἐμὲ δέ, § 13.— γεγηθῶς... περιέρχομαι...προτείνων: what a graphic picture of a man who goes about exulting and congratulating partisans over some piece of good news just received; and how vividly the terms πεφρικῶς, στένων, κύπτων represent an opposite state of mind!— ἐκεῖσε, thither, i. e. to Macedon.— ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, and look abroad, with longing hopes of personal preferment at the hands of foreigners.— ἐν οἶς...ἔτερος: notice the double antithesis in this brief sentence.

§ 324. Peroration. & wavres beof: the oration closes, as it began, w.

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an invocation to the gods. - if was kal wpoches: if gives the idea of utterly, wood of speedily, i. e. before they have accomplished our ruin. This expression is a standing form of imprecation. So de F. L., § 172: έξώλης dπολοίμην και προώλης, and elsewhere. By no means, O ye gods, one and all, by no means sanction this conduct; but above all implant within these men a better mind and purpose! But if they are indeed incorrigible, cause utter and swift destruction by land and sea to come upon them, and them alone; and grant to the rest of us a most speedy deliverance from our impending terrors, and an unshaken security! The impressive and simple beauty of this peroration has won the admiration of all critics. music of the closing passage," says Lord B., "is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm." In marked contrast with most of this criticism is the peroration of Æsch., which alone by itself justifies the famous comparison of Æsch. style with that of Dem. given by Quintilian: "Plenior Æschines, et magis fusus, et grandiori similis, quominus strictus est; carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum."

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ABSTRACT OF THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES.

EXORDIUM. (§§ 1-8.) Æschines complains of the frequent disregard of the ancient regulations concerning the conduct of affairs in the popular Assembly and in the courts, and warns the jurors to maintain well the institution of the $\gamma \rho a \phi \dot{\eta} \pi a \rho a \nu \acute{\rho} \mu \omega \nu$ as the safeguard of popular government, and to remember in this trial that the liberties of all the citizens are committed to their care.

- I. Ctesiphon has violated the law in proposing to crown Demosthenes while he was still accountable for his offices as Commissioner of Walls and Treasurer of the Theoric Fund. (§§ 9-31.)
- §§ 9-12. The law of accountability provides that no public officer shall be honored with crowns or declarations of praise until he shall have passed the legal examination at the expiration of his term of office. This law was aimed at those who, previous to this examination, managed to have preliminary votes of praise or public honors proclaimed for them. It was sometimes evaded by a proposal made prior to the examination, to crown a public official "when his accounts shall have been approved." But Ctesiphon manifests his utter contempt of law in that he proposes to crown Demosthenes without adding any such proviso.
- §§ 13-16. But there is another evasion of the law to which the defence will have recourse. The offices to which Demosthenes was appointed, they will claim, are simply commissions

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or agencies, not magistracies; and the law applies only to magistracies properly so called. But the law declares that all offices whatsoever shall be accounted magistracies; hence this claim is a wretched piece of sophistry.

§§ 17-24. The argument upon which Demosthenes relies as unanswerable is, that he made donations of his own means to the public, and that he cannot be held to an account, unless one is to be made responsible for his benefactions. But the law exempts from giving account no one who has the smallest part in the affairs of the state. This is shown in the case of different officials. The law also forbids the man who has not passed the accounts to dedicate any part of his effects to religious purposes, or in any way to alienate his property. If Demosthenes's claim of having made a donation to the state in the expenditure of money upon the fortifications is valid, why did he not give the customary opportunity of scrutinizing his accounts? It is proved that Demosthenes was actually in office at the time that this decree was proposed.

§§ 25-27. While the laws expressly forbid the crowning of one in any office, even of the smallest consequence, before his accounts have been approved, Ctesiphon presumes to confer this honor on Demosthenes when, by virtue of his offices, he was responsible for every kind of public magistracy.

§§ 28-31. By defining the various kinds of magistracies, it is shown that those officials also who are appointed by the tribes come within the intent of the law. Demosthenes was appointed by his tribe; and therefore this case is clearly a violation of the law.

II. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN ORDERING THE CROWN TO BE PROCLAIMED IN THE THEATRE AT THE GREAT DIONYSIA. (§§ 32 – 48.)

§§ 32-40. The law of proclamation provides that a crown granted by the people shall be proclaimed in the Pnyx at the

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meeting of the Ecclesia, never in any other place. But the defence will quote the so-called Dionysiac law, which permits the proclamation of such a crown in the theatre when the new tragedies are exhibited, provided the people so determine by vote. On this law, the defence will plead, Ctesiphon has founded his decree. But this is directly contradictory to the former law; and with our regulations for inspecting laws, two that are contradictory cannot coexist.

§§ 41-45. The purpose of this Dionysiac law was to do away with the abuse of proclaiming in the theatre crowns that were conferred by a tribe or by a deme, and also of announcing the manumission of slaves. But this law provides that crowns conferred upon Athenian citizens by foreign states may be proclaimed in the theatre, after first obtaining the consent of the Athenian Assembly. The Dionysiac law, therefore, has nothing to do with the law of proclamation in the case of crowns conferred by the Athenian people.

§§ 46-48. That this interpretation of the Dionysiac law is correct, is confirmed by the distinction made between the crown proclaimed in the theatre and that proclaimed in the Assembly, since the former must be dedicated to Athena, while the latter may be retained by the possessor as a memorial for his family.

III. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES ON THE GROUND THAT HE AIMS CONSTANTLY IN ALL HIS WORDS AND DEEDS AT THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE, BECAUSE THIS GROUND IS FALSE, AND IT IS CONTRARY TO THE LAWS TO INSERT FALSE STATEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC DECREES. EXAMINATION OF THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES. (§§ 49 – 176.)

A. §§ 51-53. Insinuations against the personal character of Demosthenes.

B. §§ 54-176. THE PUBLIC CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAM-INED AND CONDEMNED.

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- (a.) First period of Demosthenes's career, from the war about Amphipolis, 358 b.c., to the peace of Philocrates, 346 b.c. (§§ 58-78.)
- §§ 58-61. Demosthenes is responsible for the peace of Philocrates. By precipitating the negotiations connected with this peace, without waiting for the return of our deputies, he prevented the allies of Athens from being parties to the peace, and betrayed Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the friend and ally of this state, into the hands of Philip.
- §§ 62-74. A more particular description of the manner and means by which these results were secured, through the cooperation of Demosthenes with Philocrates.
- §§ 75-78. The conduct of Demosthenes is disgraceful in flattering the envoys of Philip; is shameless in pretending that the death of Philip was foretold him by a divine vision; is heartless in so speedily forgetting his grief for the loss of a child.
- (b.) Examination of the second period of the career of Demosthenes, from the beginning of the peace of Philogrates, 346 b.c., until its end, 340 b.c. (§§ 79-105.)
- §§ 79-83. The disastrous results of the peace of Philocrates are chargeable to Demosthenes, since he and Philocrates were the first movers and supporters of the peace. In order to free himself from this charge, he inveighs against his colleagues in the embassy and against Philip, thus procuring the condemnation of Philocrates, and gaining for himself the reputation of being a patriot.

Demosthenes is disposed to cavil about small points.

§§ 84-105. Examination of the boast of Demosthenes, that in gaining the Eubœans and Thebans as allies he surrounded the city as with walls of adamant. First, as to the alliance with the Eubœans. The generous conduct of Athens in freeing Eubœa from the occupation of the Thebans was basely requited by the inhabitants of Chalcis in attempting to destroy the Athenian

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forces that came to assist Plutarch, the tyrant of Eretria. attempt was headed by Callias (whose praises Demosthenes is bribed to sing), and was a failure. Callias, with whom we became reconciled again, afterwards contrives (by lavishing gold on Demosthenes) to obtain an alliance for Chalcis with Athens. by which Athens was obliged to take up arms on every occasion in defence of the Chalcidians. Callias and Demosthenes contrive to defraud the state of the contributions from Oreus and from Eretria, amounting to ten talents. This fraud was perpetrated under pretence that great preparations were in progress for a general attack of all the Peloponnesian states upon Philip, and that these Eubœan cities should use the tribute ordinarily paid to Athens to equip themselves for participation in this attack. Bribes influenced Demosthenes to aid these schemes of Callias.

(c.) Third period of the career of Demosthenes examined, from the close of the peace, $340\,$ b. c., to the battle of Chæronea, $338\,$ b. c. (§§ 106-158.)

§§ 106-136. The offence of Demosthenes against the sauctuary of Delphi in the affair of the Locrians of Amphissa. (1.) The account of the destruction of the port of Cirrha and of the consecration of the Cirrhæan plain. (2.) The Locrians of Amphissa restore the harbor and cultivate this district, in violation of the mandate of the god. Demosthenes is bribed by the Amphissians to defend their impiety before the Amphictyonic Coun-(3.) In this Council the Amphissians charge Athens with sacrilege in depositing certain shields in a new temple at Delphi Æschines, as the Athenian deputy. debefore it was finished. fends the city, and in turn charges the Amphissians with sacrilege. (4.) The Amphictyonic Council resolves on the spot to punish the Amphissians. A conflict between them ensues, in which the latter come off victorious. A resolution is passed by the Council calling a special session to provide means for pun-

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ishing them. (5.) Demosthenes contrived to have a decree passed by which the Athenian deputies were forbidden to meet with the Amphictyons at this extraordinary session. (6.) In this session it was resolved to undertake a war against the Amphissians. A fine was imposed upon them; but since it was not paid, a second expedition was made, when Philip was on his return from the Scythian campaign. Of the leadership in this holy war Athens was deprived by the corruption of Demosthenes. (7.) Demosthenes has involved the state in numerous calamities. Since he first assumed the administration of affairs, Thebes has been destroyed, the Lacedæmonians brought under the subjection of Alexander, and Athens, once the common refuge of the Greeks, forced to contend for her existence.

§§ 137-158. The alliance with Thebes considered. was not Demosthenes, but the common danger from the proximity of Philip, that united Athens and Thebes. (2.) In the negotiations for this alliance Demosthenes committed three capital offences against the state: First, he made Athens assist in placing all Beetia in the power of Thebes, caused Athens to bear two thirds of the expenses of the war conjointly waged, gave the command of the land force entirely to Thebes, and divided the control of the fleet. His second offence consists in taking away the proper authority of our Assembly and Senate, by giving the magistrates of Bœotia a share in all councils. His third and most heinous offence is that, by opposing the Theban magistrates in their desire to conclude a peace with Philip, to which the latter was also himself inclined. he is responsible for the disastrous results of the battle of In crowning Demosthenes you crown the author of this slaughter, you perpetuate your own disgrace, and you recall to mind the misfortunes and sufferings of the wretched Thebans.

(d.) FOURTH PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAM-



THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES.

INED, FROM CHÆRONEA, 338 B.C., DOWN TO THE PRESENT MOMENT, 330 B.C. (§§ 159-176.)

§§ 159-167. After the battle Demosthenes fled from the city, under pretence of collecting taxes. Upon his return he was full of fear. While he was not allowed by you to append his own name to any decree, he procured through others the passage of decrees honoring the murderer of Philip. He ridiculed Alexander, when at a distance; but when sent on an embassy to him, while he was investing Thebes, afraid to proceed farther than Mount Cithæron, he ran back to Athens. And finally he sold himself to Alexander, as is shown from his neglect to improve three occasions for opposing him.

§§ 168-176. Demosthenes is shown to be neither a friend of free government nor a patriot, when the proper tests are applied to his life and character.

IV. Considerations drawn from precedents with reference to the crowning and to the mode of conducting this trial. (§§ 177-214.)

§§ 177-190. In the most illustrious period of the republic, when the citizens displayed the greatest merit, public honors were sparingly bestowed. To confer honors frequently is to make them cheap.

§§ 191-214. In former times there was much greater reverence paid the laws, and much greater severity in trying indictments for illegal decrees. Precedents were not cited by way of justifying violations of law. Even friends brought prosecutions against friends, in every case in which the state was injured. The question how far a citizen may honestly and regularly plead for an offender is considered.

A law should be passed forbidding the employment of advocates in suits for illegality, as the merits of such suits are not vague. The jurors are cautioned against any attempt on the part of Ctesiphon to evade the real issue. Æschines reviews the order

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he has pursued in his speech, and charges the jurors to oblige Demosthenes to follow the same method in his defence, and to hold him rigidly to the points in question. Demosthenes will wail, revile, and swear, and all for the sake of a crown and proclamation. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, while pretending to have no concern for themselves, express grave apprehensions for each other, and ought therefore not to be acquitted by their common judges.

V. Anticipations of certain charges about to be made by his opponent. (§§ 215-229.)

Demosthenes will charge me with criminal silence, and with bringing a prosecution against his whole administration at this late day, after having neglected to impeach him at the time of My silence has been owing to my life of abstihis misdeeds. nence, while, on the contrary, his speaking has been prompted by a desire for money to expend upon his extravagant indulgences. Besides, to speak occasionally is a proof that a man engages in public life as necessity requires; but to harangue from day to day shows that he makes debating a trade. As to the second charge, he cannot have forgotten how publicly I convicted him of impious conduct with respect to the Amphissians, and of corrupt practices in the affairs of Eubœa; and we can never forget how, as was shown by me at the time, he defrauded the city of sixtyfive ships, when the armament of three hundred had been intrusted to him. His comparing me with the Sirens would come with better grace from a man whose only instrument is not his tongue.

- VI. Recapitulation of the main points of the argument. (\$ 230 259.)
- (1.) §§ 230-235. The illegality of the decree, the character of Demosthenes, the reputation of the judges for consistency and honesty, and the safety of the republic, demand the conviction of the defendant.



THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES.

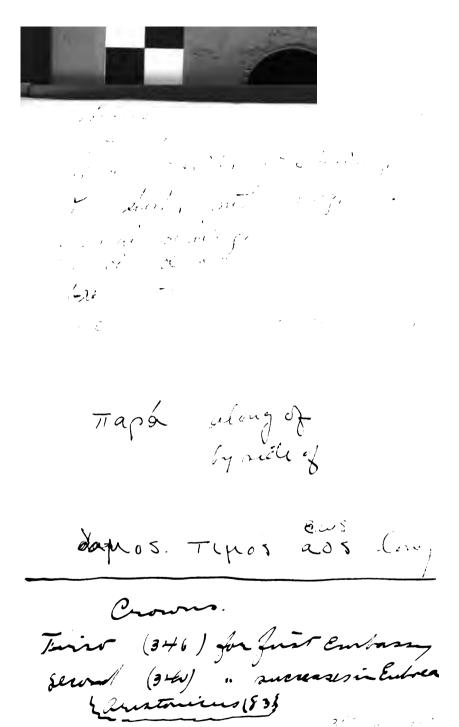
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- (2.) §§ 236-240. Neither the clause that he surrounded the city with excellent fortifications, nor the general statement of his merits as a statesman, furnishes good reason for crowning him. For in building the fortifications he did the city no genuine service, since it was he who made them necessary. And the general statement is untrue; of which fact new proof is furnished by his diverting the seventy talents sent by Persia from the public service into his own coffers.
- (3.) §§ 241-254. Demosthenes should not be suffered to speak his own praises. To crown him would be to disgrace the brave men of old who were crowned for their valor, and the memory of those who fell in battle; and would corrupt the youth by setting a pernicious example before them. Men who are so ready to lay claim to loyalty and patriotism must be required to produce evidence of their merit. The republic is endangered by the pretensions of these men, which serve them as a cloak for their schemes.
- (4.) §§ 255 259. The judges are exhorted to confer their honors with a scrupulous delicacy, and not to be influenced by the arrogant pretensions of Demosthenes. Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, and the heroes of Marathon and Platæa, are appealed to as arrayed against the villary of Demosthenes and of his associates.

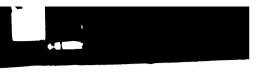
VII. PERORATION. (§ 260.)

If I have not spoken as I wished, I have spoken as I could. Do ye decide what is just and beneficial to the state, not only from what has been said, but also from what has been left unsaid.

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